ROOTS AND WINGS

AN INVITATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON THE FUTURE MINISTRY FOR THE KOREAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

November 7-10, 1991

Korean United Methodist
Church of Greater Washington

"Roots & Wings": An Invitational Symposium on the Future Ministry for the Korean-American Community
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Editor's note: With the understanding that "America" actually includes all of South, Central and North America, it should be noted that use of the words "America" and "American" by symposium participants in reference to the United States was retained due to the nature of this publication.

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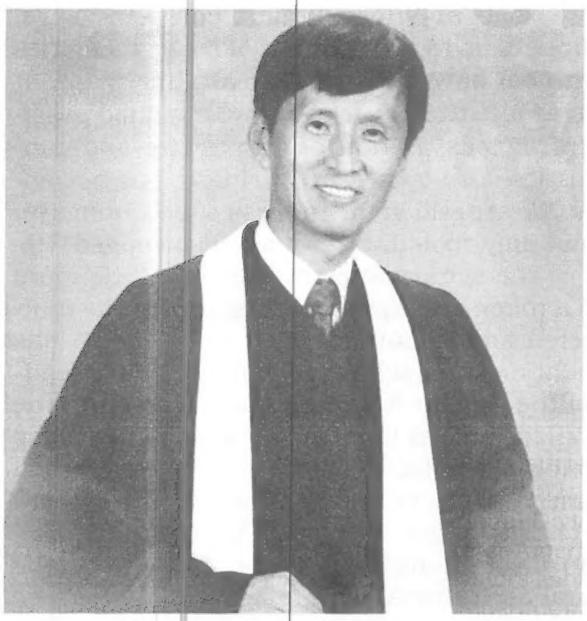
THE GRACE OF GOD IS WITH US...



"But by the grace of God I am, and his grace toward me has not been in vain. On the contrary, I worked harder than any of them — though it was not I, but the grace of God, that is with me" (I Corinthians 15:19).

Celebrating the fortieth anniversary, we, the Korean United Methodist Church of Greater Washington, tried to join the above confession of Apostle Paul. By the grace of God we have been what we have been for 40 years. Our hearts were full of gratitude and thankfulness for the grace of God which has led us to the present.

But we could not remain in joyful celebration alone. God's grace toward us should not be in vain. We have to work harder than other churches. To respond to the amazing grace of God and to rededicate ourselves to our Lord, we had a symposium under the theme of *Roots and Wings*.

It was our great joy and privilege to organize this symposium and discuss one of the most important issues we, as Korean churches, are facing today — ministry for the second-generation Korean-Americans. I deeply appreciate the speakers, the panelists and all the participants who contributed to making this symposium meaningful and productive. I cannot thank enough my congregation who envisioned this symposium together and wholeheartedly supported it. Without their support and dedication, the symposium could not have existed.

In order to share the contents of the symposium and our learnings with other fellow churches we have prepared the proceedings for publication. The editorial works have progressed slowly but steadily. My special thanks goes to Dr. Kibong Kim, the members of the publication committee and the Koinonia Chapel congregation. Their dedication and commitment have made this publication possible.

I hope and pray that this small work can contribute to making the grace of God toward the Korean churches in the United States to not be in vain but to strive to work for the future.

Rev. Young Jin Cho
Pastor, Korean United Methodist Church of Greater Washington

"ROOTS AND WINGS" REFLECTIONS AND DIALOGUES ON THE FUTURE OF THE KOREAN-AMERICAN CHURCH COMMUNITY

Roots an Wings! What a poignant image. It commits us to our past — collective memories of who we have been as Korean-Americans. It leads us into the future of many unnamed possibilities. It tells us that our character and consciousness are owned by our past, but not entirely. We are still in the process of becoming. We are not only rooted, but we are also winged.

The symposium represents a little more than a token attempt in understanding the multifaceted implications of such an image. It has brought together scholars, pastors and lay-leaders of the Korean-American church community. The intention was to create a meaningful setting for informed reflection and dialogue concerning pertinent issues of the community. The symposium was a mosaic of worship, lectures and small group discussions that are bound together by mutual aspirations and urgings.

Six papers were presented from sociological, psychological and theological perspectives. Many questions and critiques emerged out of each session and held all our thoughts accountable to each other's. This publication is a collection of those thoughts.

I truly celebrate the publication of these materials. I hope and pray that this publication will continue to stir our thoughts on the very themes it tried to address. The physical setting of the symposium belongs to the sponsoring church, but the spirit of the symposium and its implications belong to all of us.

Rev. Daniel Shin
Pastor, Delaware Korean United Methodist Church
(Associate Pastor of the Korean United Methodist Church of Greater Washington at the time of the symposium)

FOR THE SECOND GENERATION PEOPLE

One beautiful summer day, my toddler son and I were in front of the monkey cage at the National Zoo in the nation's capital. The cage was surrounded by children and their vacationing families from all over the country. I noticed a group of uniformed elementary school children gathered in front of the cage. I soon realized that they were intently staring at my young son and me rather than watching the monkeys play. Apparently an Asian man and boy at the zoo were more interesting than the playful antics of the monkeys. Their embarrassed teachers scolded them and gently led the children away.

That was many years ago, and, while much has changed, some things are the same. Today the toddler son is a grown man and lives in California. Occasionally, we each meet people who ask, "Where are you from?" This question divides father and son. The first-generation immigrant father can comfortably respond with the name of his native country, as he still feels the strong roots of his cultural upbringing. The second-generation son, born in this country, struggles with the answer, as naming neither his country of birth nor his county of ancestral origin can truly satisfy the question. His Korean-born parents and family view him as all American, completely integrated in the country of his birth, whereas his fellow U.S. citizens look upon his ancestry and view him as a foreigner.

In October of 1991, the Korean United Methodist Church of Greater Washington celebrated the fortieth anniversary of its founding. The church sponsored a three-day symposium entitled *Roots and Wings* focusing on first- and second-generation issues. The word, *roots*, indicates the deeply imbedded cultural heritage of the first generation — those immigrant fathers and mothers who came to the United States hoping for better lives and education for their children. The word, *wings* portrays the realization of these parents' dreams — their children who enjoy better health, education and opportunities that they could never have experienced in their parents' native country. Each generation struggles to understand the other and the impact that the culture of their adopted country has upon the heritage of their old one. Let us hope that with the guidance of parent-to-child and child-to-parent, both generations can nurture the strong roots of cultural heritage and flourish in a society enriched by both their contributions.

Great thanks go to Pastor Young Jin Cho, who brought up the idea of having the symposium, and also to Associate Pastor Daniel Shin, who organized the programs of the *Roots and Wings*, which he entitled. Lecturers and participants arrived from remote states as well as from local townships. I would like to extend my sincere appreciation to every participant and to our church members who made this symposium such a great success. Special thanks to Mr. Hak Soo Chung who audiotaped the symposium, and to Dr. Kibong Kim, director of the English Ministry, who coordinated the English transcription and printing of this publication.

I believe that this unique publication will prove to be an invaluable resource for students of cultural history and cross-generation issues. I hope it will also serve as a tool to open channels of communication for parents and children. Perhaps after you finish reading this publication, you could give it to your parent or child, ask them for their opinion and share a few stories of common experience with them.

Doochan Hahm
Chairperson, The 40th Anniversary Committee

SYMPOSIUM AGENDA

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 7

2:00-6:00 PM — Registration in the Chapel

6:00-7:30 — Welcome and Dinner Reception
- 6:00-6:30 Reception in the Chapel
- 6:30-7:30 Dinner, downstairs in the Fellowship Hall
- Welcome by Mr. Doochan Hahm, chairperson of 40th Anniversary Committee
- Grace given by Anna Rhee

7:30-9:00 — **Opening Worship/Holy Communion**
- Led by Rev. Daniel Shin, the members of the Koinonia Congregation, and symposium participants
- Messages shared by Rev. Young Jin Cho (senior pastor of the host church) and Rev. Daniel Shin (associate pastor of the host church)
- Communion Celebrants: Rev. Jin Tae Kwon (president of the National Association of Korean American United Methodist Churches)

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 8

8:30-9:00 AM — Morning Devotion
- Liturgist: Rev. Seung Woo Lee (Korean United Methodist Mission Church)
- Message: Rev. Sung Sang Park (Asbury United Methodist Church)

9:00-12:00 PM — **Symposium I: *Sociological Perspective***
- 9:00-9:15 Welcome and Introductions (Moderator: Mrs. Soon Hoon Ahn)
- 9:15-10:15 Paper Presentations:
  - Dr. Jung Ha Kim (Georgia State University)
  - Dr. Eui-Young Yu (California State University at Los Angeles)
- 10:15-10:30 Break
- 10:30-11:00 Panel Response
  - Rev. Kwang Jin Kim (West Jurisdiction Korean-American Mission)
  - Joon Kim (E.L.M., K.M.C. & Institute)
  - Rev. Joong Urn Kim (Mid-Hudson Korean United Methodist Church)
  - David Lee (First Korean Baptist Church)
- 11:00-12:00 Interaction, Q & A

12:00-1:00 — Lunch

1:00-2:30 — **Panel Discussion I: *Sharing Models of Ministry*** (Moderator: Anna Rhee)
- Panelists:
  - Paul Choi (E.L.M., K.M.C. & Institute)
  - Rev. Peter Kim (Torrence Korean Presbyterian Church)
  - Rev. Beth Mitchell (Korean Comm. Church of New Jersey)
  - Paul Murayama (lay leader, English Speaking Congregation, L.A. KUMC)

2:30-3:00 — Break

3:00-6:00 **Symposium II: *Educational Perspective***

3:00-3:15 Speaker Introductions (Moderator: Mrs. Hyun Kim)

3:15-4:15 Paper Presentations:

Rev. K. Samuel Lee (Los Angeles KUMC)

Dr. Young Pai (University of Missouri-Kansas City)

4:15-4:30 Break

4:30-5:00 Panel Response

Rev. Hoon Jin Chai (Korean Presbyterian Church of Rockville)

Albert Han (Princeton Theological Seminary)

Lisa Kang (Korean UMC of Greater Washington)

Rev. Beth Mitchell (Korean Community Church of New Jersey)

5:00-6:00 Interaction, Q & A

6:00-7:30 Dinner

7:30-9:30 **Open Lectures** (in Korean and in English)
Sociological Perspective (two consecutive simultaneous sessions)

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 9

8:30-9:00 AM Morning Devotion

Liturgist: Paul Murayama (lay leader, English Speaking Congregation, L.A. KUMC)

Message: Rev. Jonathan Lee (Grace Korean United Methodist Church)

9:00-12:00 PM **Panel Discussion II: *Sharing Visions for the Future Ministry for the Korean-American Community***

9:00-9:15 Welcome and Introductions (Rev. Daniel Shin)

9:15-10:45 Panelists:

Rev. Charles Ryu, Methodist (Yale Divinity School)

Rev. Paul Park, Baptist (First Korean Baptist Church)

Rev. Peter Kim, Presbyterian (Torrence Presbyterian Church)

10:45-12:00 Small Groups (meeting in downstairs classrooms)

Small Group Leaders:

Rev. Bon Woong Koo (SC Jurisdiction Korean Mission)

Rev. Joong Urn Kim (Mid-Hudson KUMC)

Albert Han (Princeton Theological Seminary)

Ms. Kyung Keel (Korean UMC of Greater Washington)

12:00-1:00 Lunch

1:00-4:00 **Symposium III: *Theological Perspective***

1:00-1:15 Speaker Introductions (Moderator: Mr. Young Hwan Park)

1:15-2:15 Paper Presentations

Dr. Chan-Hie Kim (School of Theology at Claremont)

Dr. Sang-Hyun Lee (Princeton Theological Seminary)

2:15-2:30 Break

2:30-3:00 Panel Response
Tammy Chung (lay member, L.A. KUMC)
Do Hyun Kim (Yale Divinity School)
Dr. Yoon Soo Park (Korean UMC of Greater Washington)
Dr. Young-Chan Ro (George Mason University)
3:00-4:00 Interaction, Q & A

4:00-5:30 Break

5:30-7:30 Banquet
Youth Band
Quartet
Instruments

7:30-9:30 **Open Lectures** (in Korean and in English)
Educational Perspective (two consecutive simultaneous sessions)

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 10

12:30-1:30 PM Lunch

1:30-4:00 **Dialogue for the Future**
Panelists:
Michelle Lee (youth)
David Cho (young adult)
Ilryoung Moon
Joon Ku Rha
Chung S. Park
Woo Young Park

4:00-5:00 **Closing Worship/Communion**
Liturgist: Dr. Kibong Kim
Message: Rev. Bon Woong Koo
Communion: Rev. Young Jin Cho and Rev. Daniel Shin

6:00-7:30 Dinner with church families

7:30-9:30 **Open Lecture** (in Korean)
Theological Perspective, "Theological Task for the Future of Korean-American Community"

OPEN LECTURE

	Speaker	**Theme**
Nov. 8, 1991 (Friday) 7:30-9:30 pm	Dr. Jung Ha Kim Dr. Eui Young Yu	"Roots and Wings" Tasks and role of Korean-American churches for the future
Nov. 9, 1991 (Saturday) 7:30-9:30 pm	Rev. K. Samuel Lee Dr. Young Pai	Identity-Formation How do I understand and respond to my uniqueness as a Korean-Ametrican person?
Nov. 10, 1991 (Sunday) 7:30-9:30 pm	Dr. Sang Hyun Lee	"Pilgrim's Life and Mission"

7:30 - 7:45	**7:45 - 8:30**	**8:30 - 9:15**	**9:15 - 9:30**
Gathering - Prayer - Hymn Special Music Announcements	Speaker I to First Generation Audience	Speaker II to First Generation Audience	Hymn Summary Prayer
	Speaker II to Second Generation Audience	Speaker I to Second Generation Audience	

SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

"Roots and Wings!: A Symposium on the Future Ministry for the Korean-American Community"
by Dr. Jung Ha Kim

"Toward Understanding the Second Generation Koreans: A Sociological Approach"
by Dr. Eui-Young Yu

Summary of Responses

SYMPOSIUM I: SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

ROOTS AND WINGS!

A SYMPOSIUM ON THE FUTURE MINISTRY FOR THE KOREAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

Dr. Jung Ha Kim, Georgia State University

An attempt to present a comprehensive overview of the shared reality of the Korean-American community from a "sociological" perspective can be both a heuristic and deceptive task. Because there is an increasing tendency to view "sociological analysis" as one of those contemporary "in-things" to do, we often equate the process as listing various statistical findings of the population and/or applying selected social theories to fit and categorizing our experiences. A "sociological analysis" is, then, commonly understood as a preliminary process that you have to go through before you get to more important stuff. But I would argue that analyzing (and theorizing) about our shared reality is not a luxury that can be afforded by only the selected few; I consider sociological analysis of everyday life as a primary tool for understanding who we are as a people and what we are about as a community. That is where and when I enter an analysis. Since I never enter into an analysis without some prior commitment (implicit or explicit), my commitment to present silenced stories of the less obvious and less visible members within Korean-American communities will color the rest of the presentation. Consequently, I am highlighting that all attempts to analyze Korean-American realities in the United States are necessarily complex and inevitably political.

As a small effort to delineate the complex and political process of reviewing our shared reality from a sociological perspective, I will divide the presentation largely into two parts. The first part consists of a content analysis based on the selective reading from Thirty Five Years of the *Korean United Methodist Church of Greater Washington, 1951-1986* (published in 1987). My reason for using this approach is twofold: (1) in order to provide the common ground for a sociological assessment of one particular Korean-American church from a Christian woman's perspective; and (2) to root our envisioning of the future for ministering to Korean-American communities in the concrete historical context. For any authentic and collaborative envisioning of the future to take place, we need to root ourselves in the concrete socio-historical setting where nearly 80 percent of Korean-American constituencies can be found on every Sunday.

The second part of the presentation consists of sharing brief stories of three female members of the Korean-American Christian community. They represent three generations. For by listening to stories being told and silent ones being collectively shared among women in various Korean-American local church settings, I have learned to understand "the goodness" spoken in different language. And they, as an essential part of the Korean-American Christian community, reaffirmed my belief that the power of each generation to understand and to reassess its own history lies in the light of its past and present experiences.

I now turn to my close reading of the publication — a content analysis.

THE RELATIVE STABILITY OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE "CHRISTIAN" COMMUNITY AMONG KOREAN-AMERICANS

Within the period of 40 years from October of 1951 to the present day, the church has been pastored by nine full-time ministers. Although brief reports on the times of crisis within the church, due to its internal conflicts and membership splits, were recorded in the publication, the average length of each minister's stay is close to five years. Coming from another Korean-American United Methodist church in a Southeastern area where 11 ministers have come and gone in its 21 years of history, the length of each minister's stay itself is impressive. Furthermore, considering the average length of a minister's stay in the United Methodist Church parish setting is said to be three to four years across racial-ethnic and regional lines based on the recent denominationally-specific statistics (1991), those nine ministers' average stay of five years reflects a sense of stability of this particular church.

Another measurement for the relative stability of the church can be demonstrated based on the recorded history of frequency of moving from one church building to another. Since 1964, when the first "우리집" (Our House) was purchased, there have been only a few moves until the entry into the present church building in 1986. Since racial-ethnic churches, such as the Korean United Methodist Church of Greater Washington, are community-based institutions, the finances of the local Korean-American church can reflect the economic conditions of its members. Based on the conventional class analysis of Korean-Americans in the United States, which can be summarized into two categories — the phenomenon of "underemployment" and of "family-size" storefront businesses — the ability to finance the construction expense of $410,810.98 for a new church building (as of 1984) reveals much about the economic status of its members and their commitment to the property ownership. In short, unlike many Korean-American storefront churches in major metropolitan areas throughout the United States and the more recent trend of utilizing deserted secular buildings as temporary arrangements to hold worship services among narrowly defined evangelical churches, the Korean United Methodist Church of Greater Washington can be seen as a relatively stable community.

An observation made from a publication based on the history of one particular Korean-American church lacks both theoretical and substantial evidence to make further generalizations about Korean-American churches throughout the United States. Nevertheless, previous studies on other racial-ethnic churches, such as African-American churches, the Jewish Synagogue movement in the early 20th century, and growing literature on Korean immigrant churches, can attest to my observation of the relative stability of Korean-American church's institutional establishment. Perhaps, a possible project of collecting publications from Korean-American churches in the United States can demonstrate Christianized Korean-Americans' commitment to the church property ownership in the future.

THE "PECULIAR" RELIGIOSITY OF ITS MEMBERS

In racial-ethnic churches, such as the Korean United Methodist Church of Greater Washington, a presumably universal message of "good news" is preached in a particular tongue, understood by people of specific histories and experienced through particular socio-historical lenses from distinct life circumstances. Yet one of the most common aspects that cuts across all ethnic churches is the longing for stable social identities. By juxtaposing desires for assimilation and integration into the dominant society while holding onto the culture they left behind, Korean-American churches in the United States seek to mediate the seemingly inevitable conflict of dual and even triple loyalty. Hence the Korean-American church, as an ethnic institution, often functions as an essential mediating device for its members,

Furthermore, I would argue that among many Korean-American institutions based on ethnic solidarity, one institution in particular seems to be quite successful in healing the pains of the desocialized first-generation immigrants and simultaneously ensuring a sense of personal worth and group identity for their descendants. That institution is the Korean-American churches in the United States. There is strong evidence for the forgoing claim. It is grounded in the unusually high percentage of self-proclaimed Christians among the Korean-American population — nearly 80 percent of the total number of Korean-Americans in the United States. In other words, there is no correlation between the nation or people and any particular religion in South Korea; whereas in the United States, there is a strong and clear correlation between Korean-Americans as a racial-ethnic group and Christianity as their religion. Such a dramatic affiliation of Korean-Americans — which I call "Christianization" of Korean-Americans in previous works — can be attributed to the need of Korean-Americans for a community focal point where their dual longings can be satisfied, adjustment to the dominant society and reinforcement of ethnic solidarity.

Within this broad context of the Korean-American reality, I observed a "peculiar" religiosity of members in the Korean United Methodist Church of Greater Washington. The most common annual or seasonal assembly sponsored by Korean-American churches in the United States across denominational lines is said

to be "부흥회" (missionary convention). The record of a church's special annual assembly, however, demonstrates a peculiar characteristic of this church. The revival meeting was held only twice, in 1972 and 1976, throughout the 35 years of church history. Perhaps, what has been recorded can be included in the similar category of the church's conscious effort to renew spirituality of its members. And there was one record of " 전도성회 " back in 1977. On the whole, the church seems to be quite successful in developing the trend of sponsoring "신앙강좌" (which is closer to the lecture type), rather than traditional revival meetings. From 1977 to 1986, there have been eight occasions for " 신앙강좌 ," all of which the main speakers have been pre-eminent professors with two exceptions of renowned parish ministers. Although the somewhat generic term for the church retreat (수양회) seems to be the most numerous occasion to account for the church's special annual assembly, frequent lectures in lieu of other revivalistic meetings are still noticeable. I am not called to label the overall spirituality of this particular church; nor do I dare try to name something merely based on a page-long chart of recorded church events. But based on the close reading, I suspect that this church seems to be quite conscious of balancing and incorporating various ways in which its members' spirituality can be deepened and their religiosity more engaged with community concerns.

Furthermore, based on other secondary sources, I gathered that many members of this church hold social statuses of doctors, lawyers, community activists, teachers and successful business entrepreneurs. Translating this social characteristic of the membership into the context of preaching and ministry has significant implications for both the person who occupies the "pulpit position" and the community as a whole. For instance, the regular Sunday preaching needs to be reflective of the delicate balance between what is conventionally known as "hot" sermons directed mostly to the other-worldly and "cold" sermons based mainly on this-worldly concerns. In other words, the very composition and characteristics of the church membership demands that the Korean-American church be stretched in order to go beyond the traditional dialectic between other-worldly versus this-worldly. Since we are here to envision the future ministry for the Korean-American community together, this developed trend of incorporating both conventional revival meetings and lecture-type learning experiences within this particular church can serve as a model and as an experiment for enhancing more holistic ministry.

I also suspect that our younger generation will raise new and different questions initially from the old and familiar setting, such as their own churches. If we are committed to building the faith community of accountability together as young and old, and woman and men, I suggest that we take diverse and ever-changing social characteristics of Korean-Americans seriously by being increasingly aware of the younger generation's constituency, their socio-economic locations, political commitments and images of the community. How do they define their roots and wings? Where do our youngsters enter the process of our envisioning and shaping of the future ministry? Because our younger generation is often placed on the margins within their ethnic churches, I suggest that we enter the task of critical reflection of the past and the envisioning of the future from various margins (rather than from the center). In doing so, remembering the common burden and responsibility of hyphenated people living in the United States can become an empowering memory, just as the very term "Korean-American" denotes the continual process of assimilation or acculturation (Gordon, c1969), "alienation" (Cross, 1978), and "adhesive adaptation" (Hurh and Kim, 1987) among different belief systems and cultures, every member of our community is engaged in the collective struggle to give meanings and to name ourselves in everyday life. The mission of the Korean-American church is, then, to meet the particular needs of the transplanted people with dual or more loyalties and to address the pains and dreams of their descendants in light of the Christian "good news." Hence, more inclusive, innovative and holistic ways to enhance the future ministry for Korean-American communities remains to be desired.

THE SYSTEMATIC MARGINALIZATION OF WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION WITHIN THE CHURCH

What is often left unsaid or overlooked by insiders about their shared community life is, perhaps, the most significant ways in which they construct and understand the reality around them. Hence, the nonverbal recollection of the history of the community through the selected pictures can reveal so much of what has been taken for granted by the members. I am going to elicit only a few recurrent images that are consistent throughout the whole book, which can be demonstrated as how our Korean-American church continues to render female members invisible, thus, less important, even as they constitute a majority of church membership.

[On page 33] there is a picture of church attendance from the very first worship service in 1951. Although the written document states that there were 32 attendants and an offering of $17.30 was collected, the picture shows a group of 31 people, including children. There were 14 women, 16 men and a child whose gender identity cannot be assigned easily. Unlike other Asian-American churches and more recently formed Korean-American churches throughout the United States, the Korean United Methodist Church of Greater Washington started out as highly gender-balanced church. The numerical recording of annual church attendance in the appendix section of the book demon-

strates that by the year 1972 there were little over 7,100 and there was a steady increase in its attendance until 1976. The chart also shows a dramatic decline of church attendance of 8,500 in 1983 and, as of 1986, a little more than 15,000 people have attended the church.

Because there is a commonly-shared tendency to equate the church growth with the numerical increase in church attendance, it certainly is important to record church attendance and assess its significant changes at least annually. Recording the church attendance alone, however, cannot demonstrate various intricacies that exist within the church, such as changes in the gender ratio of regular church attendance and of special events, generational differences in participation in various church activities, and unchurched people who previously were affiliated with the church.

I have argued elsewhere that the so-called "phenomenal growth" of Korean-American churches in the United States is in fact, Korean-American women's phenomenon. In other words, women consist of the majority of Korean-American church membership across the United States. Although I have no way of substantiating the argument that the growth of the Korean United Methodist Church of Greater Washington is also a case of the predominantly women's phenomenon solely based on the publication, the high ratio of female membership can be suspected based on close readings of selected pictures from the book. For instance, a picture of the church choir in 1974 was composed of 26 women and 18 men (page 97), and 22 women and 14 men were counted as members of the church choir in 1986. It can be argued that they are only selective pictures and that they may not represent the gender ratio of the whole church. Furthermore, more often than not, an assessment of the gender ratio has been treated as less important compared to other significant social characteristics that constitute the growth of the Korean-American church by sociologists and theologians alike. Setting aside the conventional understanding of what is regarded as more important and what is not, I would like to argue that closer observation and reassessment of the gender ratio within any social and religious institution, such as this church, is far overdue. For without understanding inner composition of the membership, the structural organization, and the hierarchy of leadership within the church, all attempts to envision the future ministry for our community can be seen as nothing less than a collective illusion.

There are various ways in which women members are marginalized within their own communities. Since the process of systematic marginalization of women in the context of the Korean-American church takes place subtly and less-coercively, I would let the selected pictures speak to us in silence. For in silence, the pictures survived to tell their own recollections of various church events from one generation to the next. For instance, the picture of the first elected elders in 1970 captured a peculiar story left untold behind the well-composed seven men. For a rather gender balanced church like this one, it will continue to evoke questions from our next generation as they try to understand and to remember how the lay leadership was composed exclusively of men.

Another picture that perplexed me much was the picture taken in 1983 that captured the participation of six men in the inauguration for constructing the church building. By their dress codes from the first glance, there was no way to guess that the event took place in the ripe of the summer season until you read the fine print underneath the picture indicating the date of August 14, 1983. That was a picture of formally dressed six men holding shovels in their hands to initiate the church building construction site. Without my physically being there, I somehow know that women and children were there too, all celebrating and praying with one accord. I also know that some of us feel rather awkward seeing women with shovels along side their men. But if we are the community composed of God's children as we claim to be, more inclusive representation of women and men, and young and old in the context of communal celebration needs to be desired.

Lastly, there is a picture of seven men gathered around a cake to celebrate the moving into the newly built church building in 1986. No presence of children, no trace of women, only well-composed seven men of the community. There was no sign of the intergenerational connectedness and no evidence of celebrating women as God's own image. The picture clearly depicts the peculiar reality of the Korean-American church: its female members are "king-makers," working from behind the public scene; its younger generation is rendered invisible, because they were already given the metaphorical importance as "the future" of the Korean-American community. For those seven men, whom I symbolically see as male leaders in all Korean-American church settings, perhaps, they are the only ones who can afford to envision the future for everybody else in the community.

Based on my close reading of the publication, thus far, I highlighted three distinct characteristics of Korean United Methodist Church of Greater Washington. Deeply rooted in its 40 years of history, the church stands as a stable religious institution where innovative ideas can be actualized to enhance ministry for the diverse membership. As a racial-ethnic faith community, however, the history of this particular church is closely intertwined with other Korean-American communities throughout the United States. And I attempted to elicit a few broader implications for the Korean-American communities as a whole by studying one particular church.

In summary, then, I would argue that "betwixt and between" what has been said and left unsaid lies this highly contradictory community, which we call the Korean- American church. Rooted in this church context as the focal place for community building, we are called to envision our future together. As the publication *Thirty Five Years of The Korean United Methodist Church of Greater Washington, 1951-1986* can attest to the hard labor that went in to it for the past 36 years of church's history making, I dare propose our next 40 years of work to be committed to the bridge-making among highly fragmented and contradictory realities of the Korean-American community.

SYMPOSIUM I: SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

TOWARD UNDERSTANDING THE SECOND GENERATION KOREANS:

A SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH

By Dr. Eui-Young Yu, California State University at Los Angeles

Studies on Koreans in the United States have focused mostly on adjustment patterns of the first-generation immigrants, whether they are historical or contemporary studies. Several major studies undertaken during the last decade dealt with adjustment patterns of the third wave immigrants and their communities (I. Kim, 1981; W. Hurh and K. Kim, 1984; and Yu, 1990). Studies on the second-generation Koreans are almost nonexistent. We know very little about the children of the first wave immigrants who landed in Hawaii as plantation laborers at the turn of the century. We know that most of them have left the community of their parents and disappeared into the larger society. Except a few celebrities, such as Philip Ahn (son of Ahn Chang Ho and movie actor) and Sammy Lee (U.S. Olympic diving gold medalist), we know very little about the children of the first wave immigrants. We do not know whom they have married, what happened to their families, and where they are now.

As the children of the post-1965 immigrants enter into adulthood in increasing numbers, interest is rising among immigrants as well as among scholars as to what kind of North Americans these children will become, whom they will marry, and what kind of lives they will live. Will he or she marry a Korean and remain in the ethnic fold? Will he or she marry out, melt into the mainstream, and retain very little of ethnic roots? Or will he or she live a full life as a North American, retaining ethnic pride and heritage? Will he or she be a Korean, Korean-American, or North American? Will he or she stay in the Korean church, join a non-Korean church, or leave the church altogether?

From the point of view of the first generation, however, the second generation issue concerns them in two important respects. One is the question of maintaining the family lineage within the ethnic fold and another is the issue of maintaining the Korean culture, church, and community into future generations. Although not proven empirically, it may be safe to assume that most *Il-se* (first generation) Korean immigrants would like to see their children (*E-se*) marry other Koreans, remain in their ethnic fold, and inherit the family, culture, church, and community.

Scholars look at the subject matter primarily from theoretical interests. A prevailing notion among scholars of race relations is that non-White immigrants including Asians exhibit a pattern of assimilation distinct from European immigrants. They may be fully assimilated into the mainstream North American culture, but will not be able to penetrate into the core of the mainstream social structure. "Salad bowl" is preferred to "melting pot" in describing the non-White experience. In describing the Korean experience, Won Hoo Hurh and Kwang Chung Kim elaborated the theory of adhesive adaptation (W. Hurh and K. Kim, 1984). The theory corroborates Gordon's limited structural assimilation for non-Whites (Gordon, 1964). It explains tfirst-generationion Korean experience, that is, Korean immigrants gradually adapt to the North American culture, but do not necessarily abandon their own cultural habits irrespective of the degree of assimilation. The theory, however, has yet to be tested for the second-generation Koreans.

A casual observer of *E-se* Koreans may note that they rapidly adopt the culture of middle-class North America. Most *E-se* Koreans know very little Korean, use English only, prefer Western outfits, hair styles, and pop songs. They identify with middle-class North American role models. They think, behave, and expect like middle-class North American young people. They

do not seem to retain much of Korean heritage.

In other second-generation ethnic groups, especially among the children of Asian immigrants before World War II, the "marginal man" phenomenon was evident, reflecting a structural condition of conflicting cross-pressures. "Exclusionary forces" of the mainstream North America such as restrictive immigration laws, anti-miscegenation laws, and separate school policies kept the children of Asian immigrants culturally and structurally isolated. Their parents' pressure to conform to the ethnic tradition reinforced the isolation. Yet, "inclusionary pressures" of Anglo-conformity were operating simultaneously. These conflicting pressures gave rise to the "marginal man" phenomenon to earlier second-generation Asians such as Chinese and Japanese.

In 1991, however, these structural forces have lost much of their steam. Consequently, contemporary second-generation ethnic groups find themselves in a very different situation. At least with respect to culture, assimilation seems to be proceeding in full gear. Given this development, might second-generation Koreans today be "freer" to venture beyond the ethnic fold, culturally as well as structurally? We are not sure whether or not second and future generation Koreans will be structurally integrated into the mainstream to the same extent as they are into the culture. The extent of inter-racial dating among *E-se* Koreans seems to forecast a high degree of melting into the mainstream, since inter-racial marriage is viewed as an ultimate form of structural assimilation.

This essay attempts to define the cultural and social milieu of second-generation Koreans and discusses their implications. It utilizes data from exploratory surveys of young Koreans conducted in Los Angeles, California; Berkeley, California; and Canada during the summer of 1991. The sample size is rather small and conclusions drawn here should be viewed as tentative. Also, the data presented here have a built-in "class factor." The respondents in the sample are mostly college-bound or are in college and, therefore, reflect middle-class backgrounds; middle-class parents more likely push their children for higher education. Although Koreans as a group are largely a middle-class, the pattern reported here may be different from the second-generation children of working-class parents. In general, higher socio-economic groups are more inclined to assimilate into the mainstream and leave the fold structurally because of their resources and opportunities.

The Los Angeles sample consists of 63 teenagers mostly ages 14 and 15 participating in a summer youth camp. Ninety-four percent of them indicate that they expect to complete college education. The Berkeley sample consists of 10 students in a Korean language class at U.C. Berkeley. Their ages are between the ages of 17 and 27. The Canadian sample consists of 31 Korean Canadian college students between 18 and 26 who were participating in a summer conference. For most students included in the study, the primary spoken language is English. A majority of the respondents were born in the United States or Canada. Most of the Korea-born respondents immigrated to North America when they were very young.

CULTURAL MILIEU

The data portray an image of young Koreans struggling between their desires to become a part of the mainstream, their ideals to retain some part of ethnic heritage, and their inability to realize such ideals in the face of an overwhelming monocultural environment. Personal goals, perspectives, and ideals of young Koreans are very similar to those of a typical middle-class North American youth. Nevertheless, a vast majority of the young Koreans express that the Korean language, tradition, and values are important and relevant to their lives. Yet very few of them are fluent in Korean, know clearly what Korean traditions are, and understand what "Korean values" specifically means. A significant portion of the young Koreans feel that their language use, life style, and values are too much "American."

E-se Koreans attach a great significance to acquiring Korean language skills. Contrary to the popular notion among the first-generation immigrants, there appears to be a strong desire for our young people to learn, speak, read, and write the Korean language. However, they do not get adequate opportunities to realize these ideals and, as a result, know very little of it. Their home and school environments are not conducive to acquiring a decent level of Korean proficiency in reading and writing. Korean parents are not used to carrying on in-depth dialogue with children. Besides, the busy time demand on the immigrants does not leave much room for such dialogue; parents are dead tired coming home late from daily toil. Their conversations with children are limited to simple ordinary directives either in English or in Korean. Korean homes are not a suitable language environment for *E-se* Koreans to learn Korean. They are often an intellectual vacuum for knee-high (1.5) generation Koreans, not being able to provide them an adequate language environment either in Korean or in English. Korean language practices for Korean children usually end at home with kindergarten enrollment.

One cannot expect to learn anything Korean — language, culture, history — from North American schools, kindergarten through 12th grade levels. North American schools are not designed to teach Korean children the Korean language and culture; their curriculum is designed to educate middle-class White North American children. As far as I know, Sunnyvale high school in southern California is the only public high school in the nation that offers Korean as a regular curriculum.

In church or community Hangul schools, the level of Korean language proficiency the children acquire is usually limited to being able to understand simple vocabularies and alphabets. Parents are satisfied when they find their children can write their names and read

elementary textbooks in Korean, and many pull them out of Hangul school after that. Very few Korean children continue beyond the rudimentary level of proficiency in Hangul schools. They rarely continue beyond the sixth grade level. Consequently, Korean-American children generally exhibit a very poor reading and writing proficiency. More than one-half of the Los Angeles and Canada samples failed to translate a very simple sentence, "Korean language is easy to learn," into Korean. A major responsibility for this deficiency lies with the first generation — they have not provided adequate opportunities for their children to acquire the Korean language proficiency, despite the fact that their children want to learn it (Table 1).

Even though young Koreans attach considerable weight to the Korean language in terms of its relevance to their lives, their primary spoken language is English, even at home. Nearly one-half of the Los Angeles sample and 60 percent of the Berkeley sample use primarily English with their parents. Korean is the primary spoken language at home for less than 30 percent of these samples. With friends, however, the primary spoken language is English for the vast majority of respondents. Ninety-eight percent of the Los Angeles, 90 percent of the Berkeley, and 77 percent of the Canadian samples indicate that their primary spoken language with friends is English.

TABLE 1

"Is the Korean language important to you?"

	Los Angeles	Berkeley	Canada
Very important	38.1%	70.0%	38.7%
Important	50.8	30.0	48.4
Not important	3.2	0.0	6.5
Don't know	8.0	0.0	6.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(n=63)	(n=10)	(n=31)

Korean Writing Proficiency
Translation of "Korean language is easy to learn" into Korean.

	Los Angeles	Berkeley	Canada
A	3.2%	80.0%	16.1%
B	16.1	10.0	12.9
C	19.4	0.0	3.2
D	8.1	0.0	16.1
F	53.2	10.0	51.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(n=63)	(n=10)	(n=31)

"Would you say that your language is...?"

	Los Angeles	Berkeley	Canada
Too much American	50.8%	60.0%	48.4%
About right	49.2	30.0	32.3
Too much Korean	0.0	10.0	16.1
Don't know	0.0	0.0	3.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 2

Language Spoken With Parents

	Los Angeles	Berkeley	Canada
English only	14.3%	20.0%	25.8%
English with some Korean	33.3	40.0	9.7
Half and half	23.8	20.0	22.6
Korean with some English	27.0	20.0	22.6
Korean only	1.6	0.0	19.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(n=63)	(n=10)	(n=31)

Language Spoken With Friends

	Los Angeles	Berkeley	Canada
English only	74.6%	70.0%	64.5%
English with some Korean	23.8	20.0	12.9
Half and half	1.6	10.0	3.2
Korean with some English	0.0	0.0	12.9
Mainly Korean	0.0	0.0	6.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(n=63)	(n=10)	(n=31)

Korean-American children rarely read any Korean material, magazines, newspapers, or story books. Before kindergarten, Korean parents read their children English story books such as Dr. Seuss. From kindergarten on, they are overwhelmed by English reading materials that are mostly based on the European civilization. A whopping 87 percent of our college respondents indicated that they did not read any Korean book or novel during the preceding one-year period (Table 2).

Like the language, young Koreans express that they would like to retain Korean values and traditions. At a discussion session of the Korean-Canadian youth conference, students were asked what part of the Korean tradition they would like to inherit. After a lengthy deliberation, they came up with two elements. One was "kimchi" and the other was the custom of respecting elders. They agreed that in North America, elderly persons do not receive the kind of respect they should, and the Korean tradition of respecting elders is a good thing and they would like to preserve it. In fact, 84 percent of the college sample said that it was the duty of children to take care of the elderly parents. Regarding "kimchi," it is something they all would like to retain, but they complained that their mothers were not teaching them how to make it. They worried that

"kimchi" might go with the passing of their parent generation.

These conversations highlight the fact that the first-generation parents are even neglecting to teach their children a very simple form of material culture such as "kimchi." They could not promptly come up with any other Korean tradition that they would like to inherit and agreed that unique Korean traditions and values need to be concretely and specifically defined. They felt that Asian culture was not adequately covered in school curricula (81 percent) and a multi-cultural curriculum should be required for all students in colleges and universities (Table 3).

TABLE 3

"Are Korean traditions important to you?"

	Los Angeles	Berkeley	Canada
Very important	14.3%	10.0%	16.1%
Important	58.7	80.0	67.7
Not important	15.9	10.0	9.7
Don't know	11.1	0.0	6.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(n=63)	(n=10)	(n=31)

"Are Korean values important to you?"

	Los Angeles	Berkeley	Canada
Very Important	33.3%	30.0%	16.1%
Important	44.4	70.0	58.1
Not important	9.5	0.0	12.9
Don't know	12.7	0.0	12.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(n=63)	(n=10)	(n=31)

SOCIAL WORLD

Children's "social networking" is another major concern of the immigrant parents. The *Il-se* generation's social network is largely confined to co-ethnics, according to the findings of Ilsoo Kim, Kwang Chung Kim, and Won Moo Hurh (I. Kim, 1981; W. Hurh and K. Kim, 1984). Churches, alumni clubs, trades and business associations are the bases upon which Korean immigrants form their "social network." Such "networking" becomes the basis for self-help organizations for the immigrants. On the other hand, the *Il-se* Koreans' strategy to organize and mobilize resources through ethnic networking has had a consequence of limiting their interaction with non-Koreans to impersonal business transactions only. The self-contained community strategies of the *Il-se* Koreans have become the major source of contempt toward Koreans recently, particularly from the Black community.

A cursory look at the *E-se* phenomenon seems to indicate a definite trend for *E-se* Koreans moving beyond the boundaries of their parents' community. When they leave the parental home, they also seem to leave the Korean community. A vast majority of young Koreans graduate from the Korean church when they graduate high school. Will *E-se* Koreans move out completely or set one root inside and another outside?

According to our data, young Koreans appear to be building a bi-social world around them, one with fellow Koreans and another with non-Koreans. Such a trend is evident in their friendship networking and dating patterns. Their friendship network is largely confined to Koreans, Whites, and "other Asians." Most young Koreans in the United States and Canada perceive that Whites discriminate against non-Whites. Yet, they do not seem to mind making friends with Whites. About one-half of the two close friends our respondents identified are Koreans. Whites scored second, constituting about one-quarter of close friends. Other Asians are also a significant part of the young Korean's friendship network, consisting about one-fifth. On the other hand, very few have close friends beyond these three groups (Table 4).

An interesting pattern of dating is revealed by our data. Among teenage respondents in Los Angeles, a great majority of dating partners were Koreans, very few of them were dating non-Koreans. This particular sample consists of mostly 14 and 15 year olds and seems to follow parental expectations in date selection. On the other hand, for a majority of college respondents both in Berkeley and Canada, most frequent dating partners are Whites instead of Koreans. Many respondents indicate that they would like to date a Korean but there are not enough Koreans around to choose from. The ethnic distribution of dating partners among Korean college students generally reflects that of the general student populations in their respective universities.

Regarding marriage, a decisive majority (81 percent) of teenagers express that they would marry a Korean. In contrast, only about one-half of college respondents expect that their spouses would be a Korean. Similar expressions were observed among college respondents regarding marriage partners; there are not enough Korean candidates to choose a future spouse from. Although Koreans are not the most frequent date partners for Korean collegians, they are still the most likely candidates as marital partners.

Age seems to be a principal factor explaining variations between the Los Angeles and other samples. The Los Angeles sample consists of mostly ninth and tenth graders in high school and appears to conform closely to parental expectations. Another possible explanation is the opportunity factor. The Los Angeles sample mostly comes from the southern California area, where

TABLE 4

Ethnicities of Two Closest Friends

	Los Angeles	Berkeley	Canada
Korean	54.0%	30.0%	50.0%
White	19.8	30.0	29.0
Other Asian	17.5	40.0	9.7
Others	7.9	0.0	1.6
No answer	0.8	0.0	9.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(n=126)	(n=20)	(n=62)

Current Dates

	Los Angeles	Berkeley	Canada
Korean	44.4%	50.0%	25.8%
White	6.3	50.0	38.7
Other Asian	4.8	20.0	9.7
No answer	44.4	20.0	25.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(n=63)	(n=10)	(n=31)

Likely Spouse 20 Years Later

	Los Angeles	Berkeley	Canada
Korean	81.0%	50.0%	45.2%
White	1.6	40.0	19.4
Other Asian	15.9	10.0	9.7
No answer	1.6	0.0	25.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(n=63)	(n=10)	(n=31)

200,000 Koreans are concentrated. On the other hand, the Berkeley and Canada samples come from much wider areas of western continental North America where chances for meeting other Koreans are very limited.

The variable of sex appears to be another significant factor in predicting a person's future spouse among Korean-American college students. The Berkeley sample shows that four of five women expect to marry a non-Korean while only one of five men expects to marry a non-Korean. The data from Canada also show a similar pattern: 35 percent of men and 57 percent of women expect their spouses to be non-Korean. In other ethnic groups, it has been shown that females are more likely to break the tradition than males.

Nativity status and length of residence also appear to be significant variables predicting the future spouse's ethnic identity. According to the Canadian data, 50 percent of North America-born Koreans and 60 percent of Korea-born Koreans who have been in Canada more than 15 years expect their spouses to be a non-Korean. On the other hand, none of those who immigrated to Canada after 1981 expect their spouses to be a non-Korean. The data from Berkeley and Canada seem to point a possibility that at least one-half of our *E-se* and one-point-five (1.5) generation Koreans will marry out.

Two variables firmly stand out in predicting ethnicity of expected spouses. Current dating partners and close friends are both found to be powerful predictors. Young persons dating a Korean or having a close Korean friend expect to have a Korean spouse. Likewise, people dating a non-Korean or having a non-Korean as a close friend expect to have a non-Korean spouse (Table 5).

TABLE 5

Likely Spouse 20 Years Later by Current Date Partners
Korean College Students, 1991

	Current Dates							
	Korean		White		Other Asian		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Likely Spouses								
Korean	6	66.7	6	40.0	1	33.3	13	48.1
White	1	11.1	9	60.0	0	0	10	37.0
Other Asian	2	22.2	0	0	2	66.7	4	14.8
Total	9	100.0	15	100.0	3	100.0	27	99.9

p (chi square > 14.72) < .01

Likely Spouses 20 Years Later by Closest Friends
Korean College Students, 1991

	Closest Friends							
	Korean		White		Other Asian		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N%		N	%
Likely Spouses								
Korean	15	78.9	3	30.0	0	0	18	54.5
White	2	10.5	7	70.0	2	50.0	11	33.3
Other Asian	2	10.5	0	0	2	50.0	4	12.1
Total	19	99.9	10	100.0	4	100.0	33	99.9

p(chi square > 18.57) < .01

VIEWS ON PARENTS

The prevailing notion among Korean parents as well as among *Il-se* scholars is that parents cannot communicate with second-generation Koreans due to differences in language and values. It is also said that parents and children do not understand each other due to strong authoritarian orientations of Korean parents. Because of this notion, many Korean parents suffer guilt feelings and blame themselves for not providing an adequate home support system for their children. Our data reveal these problems may have been over-blown.

It is true that a large number of young Koreans feel that their parents' language use, life style, and values are too much Korean. On the other hand, an equally large or larger number of the young people indicate that their parents' language use, life style, and values are about right, that is, they do not cause problems in their mutual relationships.

Korean youths apparently feel that their parents are authoritarian. A question was asked to Canadian

TABLE 6

Parents' Language Use

	Los Angeles	Berkeley	Canada
Too much American	1.6%	0.0%	0.0%
About right	57.1	50.0	54.8
Too much Korean	39.7	50.0	41.9
N.A.	1.6	0.0	3.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(n=63)	(n=10)	(n=31)

Parents' Life Style

	Los Angeles	Berkeley	Canada
Too much American	3.2%	0.0%	3.2%
About right	60.3	70.0	64.5
Too much Korean	34.9	30.0	29.0
N.A.	1.6	0.0	3.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Parents' Values

	Los Angeles	Berkeley	Canada
Too much American	6.3%	0.0%	0.0%
About right	39.7	50.0	48.4
Too much Korean	52.4	50.0	48.4
N.A.	1.6	0.0	3.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

"Do you consider your parents to be authoritarian?"
Korean-Canadian Respondents

	Father	Mother
Very much authoritarian	32.3%	25.8%
Somewhat authoritarian	54.8	45.2
Not at all	3.2	19.4
N.A.	9.7	9.7
Total	100.0	100.0
	(n=31)	(n=31)

"Do you feel close to your parents?"
Korean-Canadian Respondents

	Father	Mother
Very close	25.8%	64.5%
Somewhat close	61.3	35.5
Not close	9.7	0.0
N.A.	3.2	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0
	(n=31)	(n=31)

"Do you consider your parents to be understanding?"

	Los Angeles		Berkeley		Canada	
	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	Mother
Very	27.0%	27.0%	40.0%	40.0%	22.6%	25.8%
Somewhat	54.0	57.1	60.0	60.0	67.7	45.2
Not so	15.9	14.3	0.0	0.0	6.5	19.4
N.A.	3.2	1.6	0.0	0.0	3.2	9.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(n=62)	(n=62)	(n=10)	(n=10)	(n=31)	(n=31)

respondents, "Do you consider your father or mother to be authoritarian?" Eighty-seven percent of the respondents classified their father to be either "very" authoritarian or "somewhat" authoritarian, and 71 percent said that their mother was "very" or "somewhat" authoritarian. An equally higher percentage said that their parents were chauvinistic and conservative. Despite these characterizations, most young people say that their parents are understanding, they feel close to them, and they feel comfortable talking to them. Among teenage respondents in Los Angeles, 70 percent feel comfortable talking to their father and 54 percent feel the same way toward their mother. They know their parents are authoritarian and conservative, but they can talk to them at ease anyway (Table 6).

It has been assumed that serious conflicts would arise between parents and children if children want to date or marry non-Koreans. Questions were included in the Canadian survey on whether or not their parents would approve their dating or marriage with someone in a specific ethnic group — White, other Asian, Black, and Hispanic. Another set of questions was asked about whether or not they themselves could foresee dating or marriage with someone in one of these groups. Contrary to the popular notion, respondents indicate that their parents are quite liberal in these matters. According to our respondents, three-quarters of the parents would approve their dating a White or "other Asian" person. Also, nearly one-half of the parents would approve their marriage with a White or "other Asian" person. Although our young people show much more liberal attitudes toward inter-racial dating and marriage as compared with their parental expectations, most of the currant dating partners for these young people fall in line with the parental approval categories and would not seem to cause much trouble. About one-half of the respondents expect to marry a Korean as described above and this again falls in line with the parental approval level. A serious conflict could develop if children insist on dating or marrying a person outside the "Korean, White, or other Asian" categories. At the time of the survey, however, all of the respondents' date partners or expected future spouses were from one of these categories (Table 7).

TABLE 7

Parental and Self Approval of Inter-racial Dating and Marriage
Korean-Canadian Respondents

	Dating		Marriage	
	Parent	Self	Parent	Self
White	74.2%	93.5%	45.2%	77.5%
Other Asian	74.2	93.5	45.2	67.7
Black	32.3	71.0	12.9	32.3
Hispanic	41.9	77.4	22.6	35.5

Perhaps one contrasting cultural value of our young people that the parent generation is not clearly aware of or does not want to know is that of sexual morality. Reinforced by both Confucian tradition and Christian ethnic, the first-generation Koreans maintain an attitude that sexual expression should be refrained until marriage. Most Korean parents maintain a view that children should follow parental expectations with respect to sexual morality and refrain from premarital sex. Our data reveal a strong possibility that young Koreans' attitudes toward sexual morality is quite different from their parents. Eighty-seven percent of the college respondents feel that premarital sex is common among Korean collegians, and two-thirds of them say that they themselves approve it. Many indicate that it is not a big deal anyway, should be a matter between two individuals, and should not be a concern for others. It is not certain to what extent our young people actually translate these attitudes into action. Perhaps it is time for parents to be more open to talk about sexual matters with their children. Unfortunately, parents belatedly realize that their children's sexual norms are quite different from their own and they do not know how to handle it.

DISCUSSION

A profile of younger generation Koreans has been established by our data. He or she typically speaks in English, strives for educational excellence, has a cosmopolitan outlook, exhibits liberal attitudes towards sexual morality, is keenly aware of racial prejudice and discrimination yet makes friends and dates with Whites and "other Asians" going beyond the ethnic fold, perceives that parents are authoritarian, conservative, and too Korean in many respects but feels close to them and does not see many problems communicating with them, and appreciates what the parents have done for them. Culturally, they seem to have achieved a typical North American image.

On the other hand, ethnic attachment is relatively strong among *E-se* and 1.5 generation Koreans at least at the conscious level. They speak, read, and write very little Korean, but they would like to learn more about it. Many feel regret that their Korean proficiency is so limited. They behave and think like typical middle-class North Americans, yet attach a great significance to Korean culture and heritage although they cannot define exactly what they are. They would like to see college curricula include more of Korean and Asian culture and history. They date more Whites and other Asians than Koreans, but many would prefer Koreans if opportunities were there. About one-half of them feel that they may end up marrying a non-Korean person; but again, many express that they would prefer a Korean if they could find one.

Despite the obvious yearning for more knowledge on Korean culture and heritage among *E-se* Koreans, parents' emphasis has been directed toward providing them with an education that will speed up the assimilation process. Korean parents would do and sac-

TABLE 8

"Will the second generation form their own churches and communities?"
Korean-Canadian Respondents

	Churches	Communities
Yes	29.0%	35.5%
No	25.8	22.6
Don't know	45.1	41.9
Total	100.0	100.0
	(n=31)	(n=31)

"In 20 years could you foresee yourself being involved in the following"
Korean-Canadian Respondents

	Korean church	Korean org.	Informal network
Very likely	25.8%	29.0%	22.6%
Somewhat likely	38.7	38.7	51.6
Not likely	19.4	22.6	6.5
Don't know	16.1	9.7	19.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(n=31)	(n=31)	(n=31)

rifice a lot to send their children to a good school, meaning a predominantly White school with a high college-going rate. Korean parents' assimilationist approach has succeeded in making the *E-se* Koreans behave and think like middle-class White North Americans. On the other hand, it has failed to provide *E-se* children the Korean language, culture, and heritage.

By choosing a safe suburban neighborhood with good schools, parents have exposed their children to a social world which tends to be predominantly White. Under this situation it is unrealistic to expect Korean language, Korean etiquette, Korean friends, and Korean dates. U.S. Census figures of 1970, 1980, and 1990 all show that Koreans are the most geographically dispersed group among Asians. Even in southern California where the largest number of Koreans outside Korea reside, Koreans have not formed a concentrated residential community. Unlike their Japanese and Chinese counterparts, Koreans are scattered over wide areas. The so-called Koreatown in Los Angeles is a commercial and business community where Koreans are shop owners and Latinos and Blacks constitute the bulk of residents. Furthermore, hundreds of *Il-se* churches and organizations in the area have not provided adequate cultural or social milieu for *E-se* Koreans to relate and interact.

E-se Koreans generally hold a positive outlook for their future in the North American society. Most of the young Koreans included in our survey (85 percent of the Los Angeles and 100 percent of the Berkeley samples) expect their future in North America to be "very" bright or "somewhat" bright. Also, more than two-thirds of the respondents do not consider being a Korean a handicap to success.

Although our respondents are ambivalent about whether or not *E-se* Koreans will form their own churches and communities, a majority nevertheless foresee themselves being involved in Korean churches or organizations 20 years later (Table 8). In light of the changing mood in North America toward Asia and Asian civilization, the level of consciousness and demand for more knowledge on Korean culture and language from *E-se* Koreans is expected to increase. The rapidly improving transportation and telecommunication technologies will narrow the distance between Asia and America and will in turn strengthen the multicultural perspectives among *E-se* Koreans as well as among Americans in general. In 20 years, the bilingual and bicultural proficiency may become an essential quality for the second-generation leadership.

It is up to the first-generation immigrants to change perspectives and mobilize resources to meet these challenges of the new age for the second-generation Koreans.

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SYMPOSIUM I: SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE SUMMARY

Moderator: Mrs. Soon Hoon Ahn

PANELIST RESPONSES TO DR. YU'S PAPER

Rev. Joong Urn Kim - Midhudson Korean United Methodist Church (Poughkeepsie, New York)

Most of the points Dr. Yu made, I can confirm with my similar experiences in Ohio organizing youth camps. Every year we had about 80 to 90 youth. We conducted similar surveys, and I think his conclusions are a fair representation of our youth and where they are.

He presents the profile of the second generation and where they are in terms of their assimilation and thinking. The picture he presented is that the way they think, how they behave, and what expectations they have are pretty much like middle-class American young people. They do not seem to retain much Korean heritage or language, yet they express a sincere desire to preserve it. They have hope for a bright future in this society. They are confident that they will assimilate at the cultural and structural levels.

There are a few social factors which cause this. The recent history of our social condition in the United States is different than those of other Asian immigrants some decades ago. There are different structural barriers than in years past. Currently, assimilation seems easier.

Secondly, in their social networking, first generation churches and immigrants limit their interaction to self-contained communities. Yet the United States censuses in 1970, 1980, and 1990 concluded that Koreans are the most geographically dispersed group among Asians. There is also a changing mood in America toward Asian-Americans.

The survey results contradicted some popularly held notions among Korean-Americans. The first generation used to think that the second generation lacked the desire to learn Korean, but the survey concluded otherwise. It is the first generation's fault for not providing the right environment for the second generation to learn.

Regarding dating partners and future marriage partners, the second generation is very tolerant. They also indicate that their parents are also tolerant. I am not quite sure whether that is true or if this is just the second generation's view of their parents. I would like to see a survey done of the first generation.

I would like to raise some questions. We need to define unique Korean traditions and values concretely, as the paper indicated. We have to identify our goals.

There is a slight indication about the roles of the Korean church. Our second generation is ambivalent about the future of the Korean church and community. So my interest is to see what role the Korean church has played in getting us to where we are now. That was not defined.

I would also like to see the same paper presented by the second generation based on the data provided by the first generation. That would be interesting.

Last April, I visited Russia. There are third- and fourth-generation Koreans who have lost their culture in terms of language but still preserve *ktmchi*. They identify themselves as Korean. Their identity and pride is very strong. There are also Koreans in China. They are a strong ethnic group and have experienced the third and fourth generation. I would like to see a comparison of their immigrant histories.

Mrs. Joon Kim - English Language Ministry, Manhattan Korean United Methodist Church (Manhattan, New York)

When I first looked at the title of the symposium, "Roots and Wings," it reminded me of a debate that is going on in the African-American community: whether Black communities should separate or integrate into the American mainstream. That is a false dichotomy. Many intellectuals look at either/or situations without looking at what is in between. Between roots and wings, we have a lot of space that we need to cover. That is where we need to look.

What should be the content of this space between

roots and wings? I think it is a way of active discipleship. It is beyond mere financial security. It is providing an atmosphere and resources so they can be holistic persons rather than a simplistic and categorical people.

I was impressed with the degree of first generation assimilation into U.S. culture but troubled with the lack of second generation presence at this symposium. I see similar dynamics of the first generation defining the second generation problems as the White majority defining problems for minorities. I wonder also if this Korean ethnic identity crisis is more of a middle-class Korean-American crisis.

Dr. Yu mentioned that the major concerns of the first generation people were in maintaining the family lineage within the ethnic fold and maintaining the Korean culture, church and community. Basically I came up with a number of questions based on that analysis. What impact will the assimilation of the second generation have on Korean-American communities in the United States? How will this phenomenon effect the first generation, and whose best interest does it serve? Who does it serve when the second generation of Korean-Americans disappears into the mainstream American society and who loses ultimately? What does it mean to have this Korean-American identity? Does that relate to what is going on in the social world outside of our ethnic fold? Does it have anything to do with social justice issues? Does that have anything to do with Korean-Black conflict? Are Korean-Americans concerned with just preserving the national culture, or is it more than that?

Second generation Korean-Americans living in the United States face difficult problems as the first generation did, but the issues are different. Korean-Americans and other minorities in the United States face more difficult experiences.

PANELIST RESPONSES TO DR. KIM'S PAPER

Rev. Kwang Jin Kim - Mission Superintendent (West Jurisdiction Korean-American Mission)

I tried to look at Dr. Kim's paper in terms of three distinct characteristics of this church: stability, peculiar religiously, and gender imbalance.

It is difficult for me to understand her because I am a different gender from her, and I never studied sociology of gender. I wonder if it is fair that she tried to define this church from her Christian woman's perspective. The gender issue is important, but it is not the most important issue in the Korean church. I would like to see more of the relationship of the church and the community.

The seven oldest Korean-American churches in this country are United Methodist because the United Methodist Church accepted Korean congregations earlier than did other denominations. The length of time Koreans have lived in the United States perhaps is an explanation for some churches' being community oriented and possessing a high number of professionals.

Mr. David Lee - Youth Director, First Korean Baptist Church

I am 1.5 generation and grew up in a mixed culture, Korean and American. I sympathize with women and how they are treated and what the culture has brought upon them. But at the same time, like Rev. Kim says, that should not be the main issue as a church and sociological perspective. I think we need to see it from the perspective of God and how he would want us to be.

How about the growth of Korean-American churches? You said it is a women's phenomenon. But the paper seems to leave out a lot of other things on why Korean churches grow. People are very homogeneous. They want to be around the same kind of people. Also, the growth of the church is not peoples' work but God's work.

I think it would be more effective if she could add more. Why are children not being represented? Why is the second generation not being represented?

SPEAKER RESPONSES TO PANELISTS

Dr. Eui-Young Yu

On the first question about the immigration experience with other groups, there are a lot of studies of the experiences of European, Chinese, and previous Japanese immigrants. There are not many stories about the current Japanese immigrants. Second generation Koreans seem to follow a path different from ours and similar to the earlier immigrants, the Japanese, Chinese, and Europeans. European immigrants assimilate to the culture very quickly, and, by the second or third generation, they become American and are accepted culturally and structurally.

But the difference between European immigrants and Asian immigrants is that for Asians there is a limit. Asians can assimilate culturally, but not as much structurally.

Earlier there were two waves of immigrants, Europeans and Asians. Koreans are the third wave. Ethnic consciousness is much stronger now for our second generation than the children of earlier Japanese and Chinese immigrants. Structural forces have changed a great deal, and the relative position of the

Asian culture is changing. Today, American people in general feel differently about the Asian civilization as compared to 20 or 30 years ago. Now we seem to accept that there is a place for multicultural perspectives. Many universities are developing multicultural curricula. Increasingly, immigrants and our second generation are demanding that the universities do this.

Regarding the first generation's trying to define the second generation's concerns, I do not think the sponsors of this conference wanted to define the second generation's questions from the first generation's perspective. My understanding is that they simply wanted to find out what is going on, what the first generation's perspective is, and what the second generation's perspective is.

I have been researching this area for a long time. When we organize a conference like this we like to include people from different generations, sexes and so forth, but we end up having difficulty finding people who can present the papers. It is not fair to point fingers at each other. All of us are tying to define our own problems and find ways to solve them.

About middle-class bias, I pointed out in my paper that it is there. But remember that Korean-Americans as a whole are middle class. They occupy the middle-man positions, and thus become scapegoats. That is why Koreans are having a really tough time in New York and Los Angeles.

There are a lot of people who are not part of the mainstream Korean community, like people who are married to American soldiers, interracially married couples, and their children. We do not know very much about them. The Korean churches have not reached out, but some are tying to. We also need to address recent immigrants and their children.

Whose interest does this study serve? We are not trying to advocate any ideologies of the first generation. The final concern of the research is our children. What kind of persons will our children become? Will they live happy lives, contented life as racial minorities? I do not think it is fair to say that this kind of study is not good. It is important to know what they think if you want to plan the future.

Dr. Jung Ha Kim

My appreciation for Rev. Kim and David Lee's responses is not just lip service. It is because, like they already said, they are men. And coming from men's experience, I think that they were very honest. I really appreciate that.

I would like to address a few points that I do not agree with. I do not see Korean-Americans as a homogeneous group. I have done a lot of in-depth interviews with Korean-American church women. It is fascinating to hear them speak about their identity. Even among church Korean-American women, I do not see many common denominators. To see the whole Korean-American church people as just one God's people, I see a lot of problems in that.

Regarding the question, "Who decides what is the most significant problem and issue for our community?" I cannot and dare not say that the women's issue is the most important issue right now for Korean-Americans when we come together to envision our future. But it is a very, very important issue. We are talking about more than half of the whole population and church membership.

Early on I said that women do not have to have one unified way of understanding and experiencing our lifestyle. But just the fact that we are women and because we see things differently cannot change. It stays because we are women. That in itself is significant. I am not here to offer you any kind of answer because I cannot and I do not want to.

Another thing is that I do not see sociological analysis as objective study. I think every sociological analysis is quite value laden. So I am sorry but I cannot apologize for what I said.

COMMENTS FROM THE AUDIENCE

Dr. Mitchell (New Jersey, husband of Rev. Beth Mitchell): The issue should be, is the gender issue true or not? The issue should not be finger pointing or male defensive reactions. Is this an historical fact? If so, then what should be done?

Dr. Young Soo Park (McClean, Virginia): The 1988 ground breaking ceremony that Dr. Kim commented on did include new and old members and members of all ages.

Mr. Paul Choi (Manhattan, New York): Regarding Dr. Yu's paper, different results will come about five years from now because of different values. A study should also be done on Korean-Americans aged 20 to 30.

Dr. Woo Young Park (McClean, Virginia): We talked about Korean traditions and values, but I would like to know specifically what these values are. What does the second generation think about these values? Do they agree or disagree? I would like the speakers to be more specific about the problems among the second generation and what is unique to Korean-Americans. What can the first generation do? What does the second generation want?

Ms. Tammy Chung (Los Angeles Korean United Methodist Church): The role of women in the Korean-American church is a very important issue that is becoming a problem. The presence of women is lacking — in the Korean-American church and in this symposium — and their interests are not adequately represented because they usually play a supportive role. Men should be more sensitive to the current role of women. We should address this issue. God's will and leadership is interpreted by committees comprised mostly of men without the input of women. My undergraduate studies and research paper revealed that Korean-American and Asian-American women are torn between their Korean (or Asian) and female identities and must choose between the two. Usually they choose their Korean (or Asian) identity and forsake their identity as women.

EDUCATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

"Redefining Ourselves as Korean-Americans: An Orthogonal Cultural Identification Model"
by Rev. K. Samuel Lee

"Caught in the Web: A Perspective for Socio-Cultural Understanding of Korean-American Youth"
by Dr. Young Pai

Summary of Responses

SYMPOSIUM II: EDUCATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

REDEFINING OURSELVES AS KOREAN-AMERICANS: AN ORTHOGONAL CULTURAL IDENTIFICATION MODEL

Rev. K. Samuel Lee, Arizona State University and Los Angeles Korean United Methodist Church

Abstract: This paper surveys various cultural identification models to describe Korean-American multicultural persons. A recent "orthogonal cultural identification theory" (Oetting and Beauvais, in press) is advocated in this paper as a healthy model describing Korean-American identity. Unlike linear models in which cultures are placed at opposite ends of a continuum, the orthogonal model states that cultural identification dimensions are independent of each other. In other words, one's increasing identification with one culture does not necessarily decrease his or her identification with another culture. Oetting and Beauvais' initial studies on Native-American and Mexican-American youth support the orthogonal cultural identification model and theory. Both Korean and American communities need to adopt a broader perspective about what it means to be multicultural.

The historical survey of research on minorities reveals three general theories from which researchers described minorities. These are: (1) the genetic-deficit theory, (2) the cultural deficit theory, and (3) the culturally-different theory.

Under the genetic-deficit theory, African-Americans had been described as intellectually, physically and mentally inferior to Caucasians. Early Asian-Americans were also subjected to this view. Asians in their early immigration stage were first viewed as "exotic curiosity," then described as "inferior," "monkey-like creatures," "smelly," and so on. Asian-Americans, in their smaller stature than Caucasians, were treated as genetically inferior. According to this view, the adjustment problems of Asian immigrants would be due to the inferior genetic-basis. Researchers, such as White (1799), Morton (1839), and Jensen (1969), were advocates of this view as they led an eugenics movement.

The cultural deficit theory states that minorities lack healthy environmental stimulation. Imbedded in one's culture is an inferior set of cultural practices that contribute deficiencies in the development of ethnic persons. According to this view, an inferior culture may produce individuals with lower intelligence, inferior perceptual skills, undesirable cognitive styles or family structure. Although it was recognized that racism and oppressive conditions also contribute to "inferior" culture, this theory represents a movement from the majority perspective which reflected bias toward minority cultures. The Asian-American family, from this line of reasoning, is perceived as too rigidly hierarchical, resulting in poor child rearing practices. The culturally deprived children within this unhealthy family structure are presumed to become inferior to the Whites. Researchers such as Moynihan (1965) and Kardiner and Ovesey (1951) advocated this view.

The culturally-different theory has also been advocated, stating that all cultures have strengths and limitations. Differences are viewed with a lesser degree of evaluative tone. This theory argues that appropriateness or inappropriateness of certain cultural practices must be judged within that cultural context. This theory promotes culture-specific research direction and enables each ethnic group to define its own identity. As a result, Black psychology blossomed, followed by Asian-American psychology (Sue and Wagner, 1973; Sue, 1981), Chicano psychology (Martinez, 1977), and Native-American psychology (Richardson, 1981). These ethnic cultural perspectives enlarged the field of psychology and advocated that sociocultural differences are legitimate correlates of behavior.

Ethnic identity development models reviewed below reflect the three theoretical perspectives described here. Theoretical models that we adopt consciously or unconsciously do make significant impacts upon how we view ourselves and go about living. The challenge is for us to be informed critics so that we may take corrective steps to do away with obsolete and inaccurate stereotypes imposed upon culturally different people.

Perhaps, the oldest but still prevalent model to describe Asian-American identity development is the transitional model (Figure 1). In this model Korean and American cultures are perceived as two distinct cultures and are placed on the opposite ends of a continuum. Individuals can be placed on the line depending on their assimilation or acculturation level. Implicit value judgment is attached with this model which states that being American is better and more desirable than being Korean. Children even in early age comprehend this model, perhaps, because of the simplicity of it. Korean-American children as young as three years of age in a predominantly Caucasian preschool setting often prefer not using their Korean names or anything else which may identify themselves as Korean.

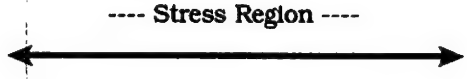
Figure 1
Transitional Model

Korean (old, bad, traditional) — American (new, good, prograssive)

In describing the developmental process of bicultural persons, some researchers hypothesize that persons in cultural transition experience "acculturation stress." Individuals who are placed on a continuum (Figure 2) are assumed to have problems dealing with incongruities resulting from the cultural clashes and to suffer social and personal consequences (Mail and McDonald, 1980; Schinke, Moncher, Palleja, Zayas & Schilling, 1988).

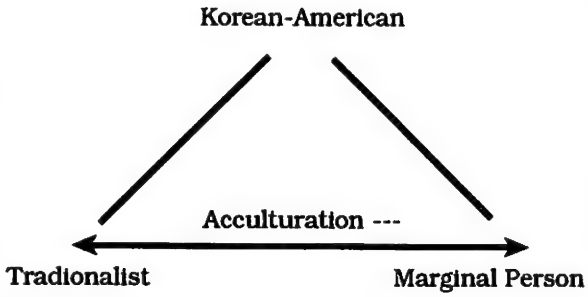
Theoretically speaking, individuals toward the middle would suffer the acute acculturation stress. The term such as "1.5 generation" derives from this transitional model of Korean-American identity development. A recent issue of *The Korea Central Daily* (October 18, 1991) describes now middle-aged 1.5 generation Korean-Americans as living in an "island of islands," belonging fully neither to Korean nor to American culture. These persons are usually alienated from

Figure 2
Aculturation Stress



Korean (old, bad, traditional) — American (new, good, prograssive)

Figure 3
Bicultural Model



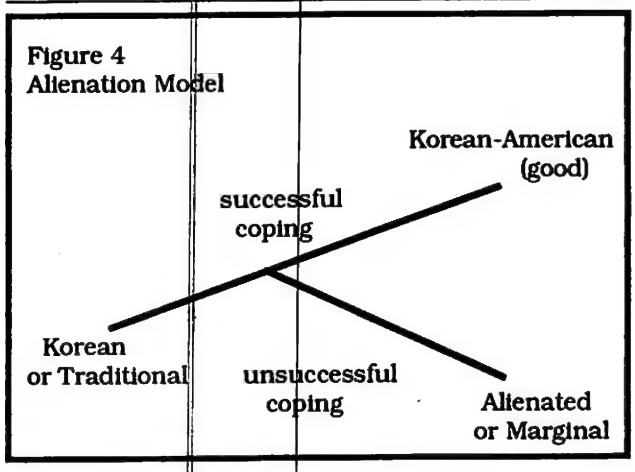
both Korean and American communities which value "pure" culturalism. The Korean-American community in general seems to have adopted this transitional model. The "1.5 generation" terminology and the implicit value judgments that go along with it quantify the Korean-American. How we understand ourselves clearly makes a difference in our formulation of attitudes, biases and beliefs. It should be noted, however, that whether or not the cultural transition inevitably leads to acculturation stress (and further to chronic emotional disturbance) is still inconclusive. Oetting and Beauvais (in press) further argue that this linear concept is inadequate in describing the experience of persons living in a multicultural society.

Sue and Sue (1971) developed their views of Asian-American personality similar to the above transitional model, incorporating the process of acculturation. Asian-Americans were categorized into three "types"; traditionalist, marginal person, and Asian-American (Figure 3). In this model, traditionalists would strongly identify with the Korean culture. They would prefer speaking Korean language, conform to parental wishes, and associate with Korean peers. A marginal person desires "assimilation, rejects ethnic values, and often exhibits racial self-hatred" (Sue and Morishima, 1988). He or she tends to associate with Caucasian-Americans and is at the opposite end of the acculturation dimension from traditionalists. The third type, Korean-Americans, would be placed on the outside of the acculturation continuum. Korean-Americans would attempt to formulate a new identity by integrating Korean cultural values, American influences, and other minority group experiences (Sue and Morishima, 1988).

Sue and Sue's (1971) model of integration of two cultures seems reasonable and desirable. However, it does not escape from the linear model and still reflects the bias that the Korean culture is not desirable and one would do better to move away from it. In fact, their model can be redrawn as an alienation model in Figure 4. Korean-Americans in this model are confronted not only with biases toward Korean and American cultures, but also with the pressure to conform and assimilate into the majority culture.

These linear models use quantifiable categories assuming that they are polemic and linear in nature. These models can be described as zero-sum models. They describe Korean-Americans by placing them on

Figure 4
Alienation Model



a continuum. In order to be more American one need to be less Korean, and the vice versa. Being Korean-American represents neither Korean nor American, and often individuals are left with confusion about self and relation to others.

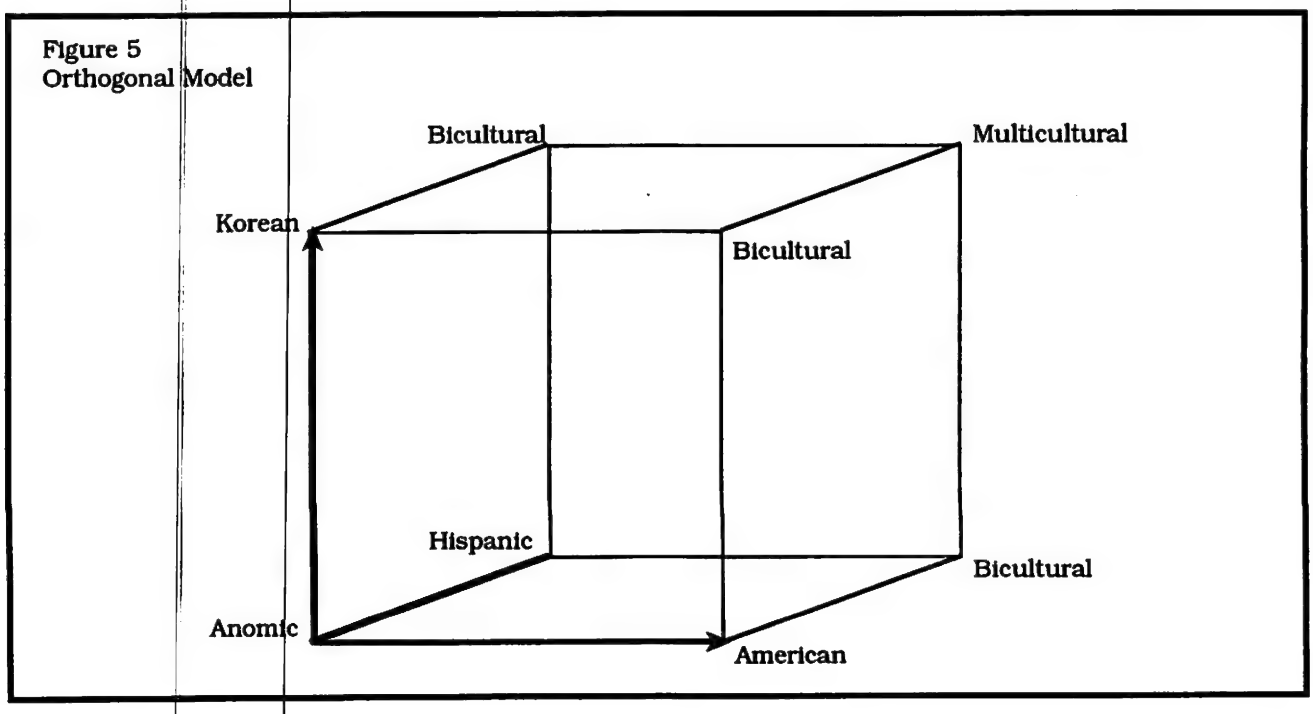
Dissatisfied with traditional models described above, some researchers used the concept of "cultural stake" as a factor of one's cultural identification. Stake can be defined as having an investment in something because he or she will get something in return. It is hypothesized that Korean-Americans would identify with both Korean and American cultures when the two cultures promise to yield positive outcomes to them. Cultural identification, in this perspective, is neither necessarily a matter to give up nor the situation of choosing between the "either/or." Bicultural persons need not choose between "all" and "none." In other words, being a Korean-American does not mean that one must follow the Korean or American ways of life all the time and be committed in that one culture. Researchers argue that the main problems of ethnic minority people have been that they were often forced to choose, and that acculturation stress was likely to occur when persons experience rapid and significant loss of their overall identification.

The key issue here is whether or not cultural elements of both American and Korean cultures coexist within an individual's functioning. There has been a tendency to dichotomize Korean and American cultures, which made it difficult for researchers to devise a more accurate and helpful conceptual model of bicultural identity development.

Affirming that two cultures can coexist within individuals, Oetting and Beauvais (in press) suggest the orthogonal identity model (Figure 5). [A case in point: Must McDonalds restaurants always choose between serving hamburgers or burritos? Between serving hamburgers or salmon? Or can they serve them all at the same time? Do I always have to choose to be a clergyman or a psychologist?] Oetting and Beauvais state that identification with any culture is independent of identification with another culture. One's identification as an American does not have to diminish his or her identification as a Korean. Instead of placing a bicultural person on a continuum, Oetting and Beauvais suggest a three-dimensional cube, in which cultural identification dimensions are right angles to each other, as a model to describe bicultural or multicultural persons. At the origin of the angles is lack of identification with both Korean and American cultures (marginal persons in the linear model). Oetting and Beauvais assert:

> All of the other models place limits on what patterns of cultural identification and on what adaptations to change are possible. The orthogonal identification model indicates that any pattern, any combination of cultural identification can exist and that any movement or

Figure 5
Orthogonal Model



change is possible. There can be highly bicultural people, unicultural identification, high identification with one culture and medium identification with another, or even low identification with either culture.

Oetting and Beauvais discovered in their studies on Native-American and Mexican American youth that it is appropriate to treat Caucasian and Hispanic identifications as separate and independent characteristics. Their findings indicate that a strong cultural identification can serve as a source of strength and potency. A high cultural identification, whether in the direction of Caucasian or Native-American, is correlated with higher self-esteem, positive personal adjustment, and greater potential to higher cultural stake. Oetting and Beauvais also found that lowest self-esteem appears in Native-American youth who have low identification with both Caucasian and Native-American culture. Their data suggest that self-esteem increases with one's identification with culture proportionally. In addition, the longer the vector from the zero point of anomie, the higher the self-esteem of youth. Furthermore, strong Native-American identification is as valuable as strong Caucasian identification. Oetting and Beauvais conclude that "strongly bicultural youth have the highest self-esteem and the strongest socialization links."

Historically, minority cultures have been absorbed by the majority culture in the United States. The significance and contributions of "heroes" from minority cultures have been diminished, if not eliminated. The concept of "melting pot" or even assimilation and acculturation implied that the minority cultural group must move toward incorporation into the majority culture. The orthogonal model proposes that value and belief conflicts between cultures are not necessarily barriers to be overcome by taking a side with one culture. Cultures do not have to be in conflict. Highly bicultural Korean-Americans, in fact, function effectively in both Korean and American cultures. The main problem is not in one's "mixed" cultural identification, but in his or her weak cultural identification. However we deny it, we live in a multifaceted, multicultural society. There is no "pure" culture any more. It has been a general historical tendency for an immigrant community to look back their motherland and try to maintain their "purest" possible cultural attitudes and practices. (Korean churches in Korea may be more Westernized than those Korean churches in the United States.) The American society also imposes upon ethnic minorities a rigid expectation to conform and assimilate. Perhaps, it is the time for all of us to broaden our views on who we are and who we can become.

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SYMPOSIUM II: EDUCATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

CAUGHT IN THE WEB: A PERSPECTIVE FOR SOCIO-CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING OF KOREAN-AMERICAN YOUTH

Dr. Young Pai, University of Missouri-Kansas City

The fact that there is a serious and pervasive concern about our youth's future in the United States and Canada is beyond dispute. It appears equally true that many of our concerns are addressed in terms of whether or not they should learn to think, behave and develop attitudes and values according to the norms of the dominant and/or Korean cultures. After several years of talking to and with Korean-American young people and having completed a study of 564 early adolescents and adolescents, I am convinced that this two-dimensional perspective oversimplifies the world in which the young live and that it may give us a distorted view of their aspirations, needs and problems. Therefore, I wish to suggest that we adopt a multi-dimensional perspective in our attempt to understand the youth.

As the metaphor "web" in the title suggests a complex network, our young people's world consists of many different strands (streams) of cultural norms that intersect, overlap and interact with each other. The same can be said about their counterparts in the dominant culture. But the world of minority youth becomes more complex, for they must deal with not only different but also contradictory norms and forces. More specifically, our young people must relate to the cultures of adolescents, the school, the larger society, Korean community as well as Korean-American youth as a group. The fact that there are no explicit and fixed rules according to which they must think and act appropriately in varying situations exacerbates their predicament. Indeed, they are frequently caught in the web of conflicting norms. Further, as parents, teachers and pastors we have not been much help, because we do not yet have a clear understanding of the dynamics of the ways in which the many cultural strands influence the lives of our youth and people in general.

In our attempt to understand Korean-American youth, we may find Ward Goodenough's notion of "private culture," to be a useful tool. As every society has a culture so we may speak of each person as having his or her own private culture, i.e., a set or sets of norms according to which meanings and significance are assigned to objects, events and human actions. A person's private culture can then be seen as including awareness of several distinct "cultures" of other individuals and groups. One's cultural awareness of different private cultures represents the individual's perceptions of how other human beings have organized their experiences based on the standards by which they perceive, predict, judge and act (Goodenough, 1963). Hence, a person's culture may include knowledge of several different language patterns, norms of conduct and valuation, and procedures for getting things done. Depending upon the nature of one's purpose and its context, the individual often moves from one set of cultural norms to another within one's repertoire.

In a very real sense, a person's private culture, then, is seen by its holder as a true and more or less complete representation of a real world. The individual is said to move (act) according to the pulls and the pushes within this representation. It is through our knowledge of the private cultures of others that we learn to accomplish those goals that are best achieved through working together. Similarly, understanding our youth means having knowledge about the content and the structure of their private cultures and the varying degrees of forces with which the many different elements of the youth's private culture influence their thinking, acting and making value judgments.

In order to obtain such knowledge, we must enrich our interpretation of the quantitative data about the youth with personal encounters (dialogues) with the youth as well as our own experience of living through adolescence in Korean culture and a critical appreciation of the differences between Korean and the dominant cultures. It is important for us to keep in mind that the cannons of social science research are culture bound and, hence, the assumptions upon which these principles rest are very Western. What this means is that we cannot always "get at" certain aspects of cultural norms which vary radically from Western cultures.

With this caveat in mind, in the remainder of this paper, I wish to summarize, in general terms, some of the findings about Korean-American youth in the areas of their (1) aspirations, (2) conflicts, (3) help seeking preference, and (4) view of the church.

ASPIRATION

The level of aspiration a person has usually gives us a good indication of that person's mental health, for in the Western culture the motivating force for accomplishing future goals is viewed as originating from the individual. When we consider a very high level of positive responses to the questions about "wanting happy family life," "wanting to make parents proud of me," "feeling good about myself," "doing something important in life," "doing well in school," preference for high prestige occupations and concerns for the larger society as well as the world as a whole, the aspiration level of Korean-American youth appears to be positive, optimistic, achievement oriented and concerned about social issues. These are the areas about which we should rejoice, particularly when the aspiration level seems higher than those of White middle-class youth.

Notwithstanding the sense of joy we have about these findings, there are less clear dimensions. That is, when we view the responses to the above questions in light of the responses to questions about the youth's relationship with parents and other adults, their worries and what they like to know or talk more about, the responses do not reveal highly self-motivated, proactive, and expressive attitudes. On the contrary, the findings indicate inconsistencies, conflicts and a sense of alienation. For example, 35.5 percent of the youth worry "quite a bit" to "very much" about drugs and drinking around them, but only 22 percent indicate having much interest in learning more about how to deal with drugs and alcohol. Moreover, 53.4 percent of the young people are satisfied with the current level of conversation about drugs and alcohol. When we consider that (1) the youth in general believe that the parental expectations are unreasonably high, (2) are pressured into doing everything to please their parents, and (3) the parents' occupational choices are almost identical with those of their youth, the high level of aspiration may be attributable largely to the parental and Korean community pressures. Hence, the meaning of "aspiration" should be understood differently when it is applied to Korean-American youth than White middle-class young people. In the case of the latter group, aspiration level may be a much closer index of self-motivation.

Though only time will give us a more definitive answer, there is ample evidence (both statistical data and personal reports) to indicate that the high aspiration level stemming from a high (or unreasonable) level of expectations and accompanying pressures may lead to the youth's frequent encounter with disappointments, resentment and a significant increase in the level of intergenerational conflict. My intent here is not to draw a pessimistic picture of our young people, but to point out that even in the positive findings about the youth there are dimensions about which we must be concerned.

CONFLICT

While 77.5 percent of the study population feel grateful to their parents for their hard work in providing a good life, in the eyes of the adolescents, Korean-American parents are overly worried about their children and have too little trust in them. The youth's perception that the adults do not understand the difficulties they face in school and that they are constantly compared with the children of other families are all likely sources of conflict. The fact that 89 percent of young people believe that making their own decision is "quite a bit important" to "at the top of the list," while 50 percent of the youth regard their parents' parenting style as being authoritarian or permissive (Pai, Pemberton and Worley, 1987b) represents a significant source of conflict for parents who attach central importance to the attitudes of conformity and docility. It is not surprising that children in general often have conflicts with their parents, but there are other clues which suggest that the degree of conflict among many Korean youth and their parents appears to be severe enough to warrant our careful attention. One such clue is the proportion of Korean-American youth who wish they had different parents.

According to the Search study (Search, 1984) 5 percent and 9 percent of the White and Black youth, respectively, responded that they "very often" and "often" wish they had different parents. On the other hand, 15.5 percent of the young people in our study gave the same responses. When these responses are viewed by grade level, the proportion of the youth who wish that they had different parent(s) "very often" and "often" increased with age. The figures ranged from 11.7 percent at the sixth grade level to 18 percent at the 12th grade level. It would appear that the conflict reflected in these responses is greater for males (14.4 percent) than females (7.8 percent). More than three times as many Korean-American youth "very often" and "often" wish that they had different parents than White youth in the Search group. Additionally, 32.4 percent of the total study population get mad at their

parents "very often" and "often," and males "get mad" at their parents more often (36.5 percent) than females (24.1 percent). Further, about 32 percent of males and 24 percent of females "strongly agree" and "agree" that their parents have double standards in relating to their children, and almost 2.5 times as many males (16.3 percent) worry "very much" and "quite a bit" about killing themselves than females (7.3 percent).

As suggested by the above data, males generally appear to have significantly more conflict with their parents than females. In spite of the egalitarian and hierarchical nature of the Western and Korean cultures, respectively, both cultures expect and encourage males to be assertive, competitive and aggressive, while females are expected to be more nurturing, sedentary and conforming. This implies that if Korean parents relate to their children in the traditional hierarchical way by demanding conformity and docility, males are likely to have more conflicts, and sex role stereotyping for females will be reinforced. To put it differently, the parental demands for conformity and docility are inconsistent with the male sex roles assigned by the culture hence greater conflict for males, while the same parental expectations will reinforce sex stereotyping for females because they are consistent with the culturally assigned female sex roles. In a society that attempts to minimize the ills of sexism, the latter too becomes another source of conflict.

HELP SEEKING PREFERENCE

One of the most central aspects of understanding our youth is to see how effectively they cope with various conflicts they experience in life by examining the sources from which help is sought. While it is probably quite true that the hierarchical nature of Korean culture may have significant influence on the ways in which Korean adults relate to their young people, the youth's help seeking preference could also give us an important clue about the nature of the intergenerational relationship, i.e., degrees of conflict and credibility between the young and the old.

Of all of our analyses, this area produced the most alarming findings. In a direct comparison with the Search group (Search, 1984), the Korean-American young people are significantly more likely to turn to their peers for help in all areas but one, "deciding what to do with my life," than are their Caucasian counterparts. They were also significantly more likely to turn to nobody at all than those in the Search group. More specifically, 48 percent of Caucasian fifth through ninth graders sought help from their parents while only 29 percent of Korean-American youth would go to parents for help. On the other hand, 31.7 percent of Korean-American youth and 18 percent of the Caucasian group considered their peers as a source of help. Further, Korean-American youth are more than twice as likely to turn to no one for help. In the areas of drugs, alcohol and sex more than 40 percent of the Korean-American 11th and 12th graders indicated that they would not go to anyone for help.

Our statistical projections of the help seeking behavior of the youth into their first and second years of college indicate that the trend of turning to parents decreased and turning to peers increased with the incidence of turning to nobody continuing to rise at a very rapid rate. By the time the youth enter college, it appears that they will have left the church as a source of help with none (0 percent) turning to the clergy. Growing up between two divergent cultures puts a stress on the youth that the parents have not experienced in their own development. The home pushes the young people to be more Korean in their attitudes and beliefs, while the school and peers (Korean and Caucasian) urge them to become more American in their ways. Given the fact that they are going to live in the United States, it is not surprising that they show a higher preference for the norms of the dominant culture. However, the youth do indicate a strong sense of affection for their parents and they want to please them as much as they are able. Thus they are confronted with two or more different norms for living, which may pull them in a number of different and conflicting directions.

For many early adolescents and adolescents, friends can be a useful source of help but they can also be a source of much misinformation that could lead to further difficulties. Not going to anyone in the face of difficulties may result in even more serious consequences, which may be physical, psychological or spiritual. In a very real sense, patterns of the Korean-American youth's help seeking preference imply a serious lack of credibility on the part of their elders. There is an urgent need to re-examine honestly and critically what Korean parents, ministers and other adults have assumed or taken for granted about the essential nature of parenting, pastoral care and education of the youth in a culturally diverse society.

VIEW OF THE CHURCH

Korean churches in the United States have a very important place in the lives of Korean-American youth, for 77.1 percent, 71.1 percent and 78.6 percent of the young people, respectively, report that "having God at the center of my life," "being part of a church," "importance of church in my life" are "quite a bit important" to "extremely important." While 69 percent say that their church programs are designed for age groups other than their own, almost 67 percent and 64 percent of the youth believe that their church programs are generally quite helpful in understanding who they are and answering important questions in their lives.

In spite of the apparent helpfulness of the church programs for the youth as a whole, we found an in-

verse relationship between the degree of helpfulness and the ages (grade levels) of the young people. The perception that their church programs are "little" to "not at all" helpful in understanding who they are increased with age. Interestingly but not surprisingly, 45.1 percent of this group gave similar responses to the church program's helpfulness in answering important questions in the lives of the youth.

As to the likelihood of Korean-American youth attending a Korean church when they are older, 29 percent indicate that the likelihood of attending a Korean church is "little" to "not at all" and about 21.3 percent report that the probability is "somewhat." When the responses are viewed in terms of various grade (age) levels, "little" and "not at all" responses increase significantly with age. Almost 45 percent of the 11th graders and 25.2 percent of the 12th graders say that the likelihood of their attending a Korean church is "little" to "not at all."

In spite of the fact that the youth's perception of the church programs as "little" to "not at all" helpful in understanding themselves and answering important questions in life increases with age, we found no significant relationship between this trend and the young people's view about their future attendance of a Korean church. On the other hand, the youth's desire to be part of a church and the belief that the youth program at their church makes them feel that they are part of a group of people who care about them remain constant. Almost 50 percent of the study population find "being part of a church" is "quite a bit important" to "at the top of the list," while 71 percent of the youth believe that their church programs make them feel that they are part of a group of caring people. These percentages do not vary significantly either with age or sex. In view of these data, we suspect that the youth see the church as a place where they find a network of supportive peer relationships that helps them in coping with their problems and conflicts and meeting their social and emotional needs. But even if this were true, the church still occupies an important place in our young people's lives and pastors and youth specialists can capitalize on the youth's need for supportive relationship in developing programs that can help their spiritual development.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Clearly, the Korean-American young people are caught between strong cultural forces stemming from the norms that are not only different from but also contradictory to each other. As might be expected, our findings thus far suggest several areas of celebration: the strong sense of loyalty the youth have for their families, parents and churches; the high and positive aspiration level; the church's influence against the substance abuse; and the young people's concern for contemporary social and political issues. These areas need to be strengthened and further developed while being mindful of how they impinge upon the areas of concern.

Korean churches and families can and must take seriously the task of helping the young people to develop into Christians who have a clear sense of identity as individuals with unique ethnic heritage, personal ability and purpose, who can be integrated fully into the social and political fabrics of the American society. Some of the ways in which the development of these qualities may be facilitated are: (1) modification of parenting styles and adult-youth relationships to allow for more open dialogues, (2) more frequent expression (both in words and actions) of the adults' recognition and praise of the positive qualities and achievements of the young, (3) strong encouragement for participating in various activities outside of Korean churches and communities, (4) special programs related to the development of coping skills and youth leadership, and (5) promotion of educational occupational choices based primarily on the individual's interest and ability.

In the remainder of this section, I wish to indicate some very general suggestions regarding the three areas I have discussed for they may have significant influence in achieving the various programs in the above areas. But in making these suggestions I wish to remind us that our central question in understanding and working with Korean-American youth should not be whether or not they should assimilate into the dominant culture or how much they ought to assimilate. I am convinced that the pivotal concerns should be: How can our young people work and live most effectively in a culturally diverse society as the United States?

Aspiration and Career Selection. As has already been indicated, the high aspiration level of Korean-American youth is reflected in part in the kinds of high prestige professions they chose. However, an analysis of the youth's occupational preferences reveals a very narrow range of careers, which were selected not only by their parents but also by other Asian-Americans. The fact that over 51 percent of the Korean-American youth and almost 64 percent of their parents favor careers in medicine, law, business and engineering is consistent with the past and current career selection trends of Asian-Americans in general. Though the youth are aware of more kinds of career fields than their parents, the majority of the youth prefer the fields in which the use of verbal, social and interpersonal skills do not play a key role. There does not appear to be any indication of significant change in the ways in which Asian-Americans select their occupations.

According to a recent article in *Chronicle of Higher Education* (1986), there is an excessive concentration of Asian-American youth in the biological, computer, health related and physical sciences, while a small number of young people go into the arts, education, humanities and the social sciences. While this article dealt with the situations of Ivy League schools, there is no reason to think that the situations at state and other private institutions would be any different. What this means to the youth is that Asian-American youth,

by their choice of fields, will make competition for admissions into certain institutions much keener for themselves. In the long run, Asian-American youth will make their own employment in the scientific, engineering and health related fields extremely competitive. Moreover, Asian-Americans will be under-represented in such areas as the arts, education, the humanities and the social sciences. Unless altered, this trend in occupational selection may lead to personal disappointments to many who have been trained in the "hard" sciences and engineering and further reinforce the dominant culture's stereotypic view that Asians and Asian-Americans are either less able or can contribute little in other fields of human endeavor. Further, while Asian-Americans may do well economically, we may abdicate ourselves from performing important social and political roles through which a significant impact on the dominant society may be had. Serious attempts should be made to develop the means by which the youth and particularly their parents are helped to rethink the ways in which the future career selections are made. Programs that inform them about the range of available career fields and the role of the individual's ability as well as interest in intellectual, socio-economic and political success and personal happiness would be most valuable.

Conflict and Effective Communication. Effective communication among Korean-American youth and their parents as well as with other adults will play a key role in coping successfully with interpersonal conflicts, encouraging youth to seek help from others and to function effectively in both the mainstream society and the Korean community in America. I am persuaded that the willingness and the ability of the youth and their elders to express their feelings and to share their view in a consultative manner occupy a central place in effective communication. However, the development of this type of open communication among Korean-American youth and adults is easier said than done, for the pervasive climate in which they relate to each other at home and in church tends to remain hierarchical and formal. Hence, an open discussion of personal feelings and thoughts among children and parents tends to be significantly limited by various cultural norms, e.g., the young must defer to their elders, children must be docile. When the communication between the youth and their parents is carried on in the Korean language, open communication is likely to become more difficult. For example, since the structure of the Korean language reflects the social and generational hierarchy found in the culture, the language does not permit a child to express his or her feelings and thoughts freely, for adults often regard them as inappropriate or disrespectful. As an illustration, a child cannot compliment his or her father directly in Korean. The child may compliment him indirectly by thanking him. We suspect that the use of the English language by communicants, e.g., children and parents, men and women, the young and the elderly, may more easily facilitate open communication than the use of the Korean language.

In our recent experimental study of coping skills of Korean-American youth (Pai, Pemberton and Burton, 1987a) we found that the cognitive communication style that stresses awareness of the internal thought process generally appears to be more effective when compared with two other styles which are based on the utilization of feelings (affective) and the use of external (behavioral) cues. The study also indicated that the training activities had much more significant effect on females than males. Further, the leadership styles of the trainers appear to have played an important role in the outcome of the study. We believe that further investigation into the relationships between the styles of communication, the gender differences among communicants as well as the leadership styles of the trainers (youth workers and educators) would yield some important insight about how effective communication between the youth and their elders might be achieved.

While the study did not yield definitive information about the factors contributing to effective communication, we were able to identify some factors that may be useful in helping Korean-American youth and their parents to develop effective communication skills, modifying parenting styles, resolving interpersonal conflicts and improving other related social skills. We are also convinced that education of the adults who will be working with their youth will require a systematic study of the differences and the points of conflicts between Korean and American cultures and the ways in which these differences and the areas of conflicts manifest themselves in the adult behavior.

The Youth and the Future of the Church. As has already been indicated earlier, the older the youth, the less likely they are to attend a Korean church in the future. Some of the major reasons cited for not wanting to attend a Korean church are: (1) Korean churches are not helpful, (2) English-speaking churches are more helpful, and (3) the youth feel uncomfortable in a Korean church because they do not speak Korean. Though these appear to be three different reasons, in reality they are three different aspects of one and the same reason. Namely, the Korean churches in America are not effectively meeting the needs of their young members.

Our statistical prediction based on the young people's responses indicate that the inclination to move away from Korean church will continue to increase into their college years. In the context of this study as a whole and on the basis of our conversation with Korean-American youth both at the high school and college levels, we are persuaded that in actuality the increase in the negative inclination toward the Korean churches is likely to increase much more rapidly among a greater number of youth than shown in our study. Unless some dramatic intervention programs appear on a massive basis, this trend is not likely to slow down or be reversed. Given the current conditions under which the churches function, the probability of such dramatic changes occurring is less than remote.

Given the mobile nature of American society and its employment patterns, it is unrealistic for parents to expect their children to return home to perpetuate their churches even under an ideal setting. But even if one assumes that providing meaningful church pro-

grams would attract the youth to either Korean or Caucasian church, Korean parents in one city have to rely on the churches in the cities wherein their children work or attend school to provide such programs for their children. If Korean churches are experiencing serious difficulties in meeting the needs of their pre-collegiate youth now, it is unreasonable and unrealistic to expect the churches to deliver meaningful programs for college age youth. The crux of the concern then should not be whether or not the youth will attend a Korean church in the future but it should be about the likelihood of the Korean-American youth to attend any church at all when they move away from home.

There are no simple answers to the questions just posed. But what is clear is that both human and material resources of local Korean churches are limited and, hence, there is a severe limitation to what they can accomplish. This means active denominational involvement in the youth ministry in minority churches is critically important. Locally, the individual churches could develop their programs by both involving their youth as well as the youth specialists. Re-education of the church school teachers as well as the educators of these persons in terms of the cultural bases of the teaching and learning processes are essential prerequisites to the development of meaningful youth programs and ministry. Moreover, in certain cities an interdenominational "youth church" might be developed jointly by different congregations. But also important is the exploration of the possibility of establishing Asian-American churches in major cities in the United States either denominationally or inter-denominationally. These churches, if established, can be served by those Asian-Americans who have been educated at the various seminaries in this country. This further means that the institution of theological education needs to examine its curricular programs to ascertain the extent to which its offerings reflect the degree of cultural and racial diversity that exist in the American society and its churches.

The areas of youth programs in Korean churches that could be more reasonably achievable are: (1) developing varied activities and projects which Korean-American youth can carry out with their counterparts to Caucasian and/or other minority churches, and (2) encouraging and supporting the young people to take an increasingly active part in the affairs of the larger church at the local, regional and the national levels. The inclusion of these two elements in the youth programs may help the young to develop their ability to work with individuals and groups from varied cultural and racial backgrounds, whether they be mainstream or other minority groups.

In closing, among Korean churches in North America there is no disagreement about the urgency with which we need a large number of youth ministers, Christian education specialists, counselors and other youth related workers (henceforth these individuals shall be referred to as youth specialists). Yet, there is no general agreement about what kinds of knowledge, skills and other attributes these specialists should possess. Hence, I wish to close this paper with several remarks about what I consider as essential components in the theological education of prospective youth specialists.

In general, the meaning and significance of Asian-American experiences should be integrated into the education of youth specialists wherever possible. But more fundamentally, an in-depth study (comparative analyses) of both Korean and American cultures should be made mandatory to all those who intend to work with Korean churches and Korean-American youth. Without such a study, an understanding of the social, cultural and psychological dynamics of the youth as well as their parents is almost impossible. Ideally, and for some time to come, all youth specialists need to serve as a bridge between the young and their elders. These specialists must be able to understand and work with the first-generation pastors and congregations. In this area, ethnographic studies of both the first and first-generation congregations may be useful in gaining a first hand experience and understanding of both groups.

NOTES

Chronicle of Higher Education. (November 19, 1986): p. 34.

Goodenough, Ward. *Cooperation in Change.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1963.

Pai, Young and Deloras Pemberton. A three year study of 564 Korean-American early adolescents and adolescents from 26 churches in 22 cities and the following 11 states and the District of Columbia: California, Georgia, Illinois, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New York, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia. The population consists of 46.5 percent females and 53.5 percent males from grades five through 12. The youth who arrived in the United States before age five and those who are U. S. born make up 74 percent of the total population. Seventy-five percent of fathers and 63.3 percent of mothers are college graduates.

Pai, Young, Deloras Pemberton and Geri Burton. *Coping Skills for Korean-American Youth: A Study in Direct Communication Skills.* Kansas City: University of Missouri-Kansas City, School of Education, 1987a.

Pai, Young, Deloras Pemberton and John Worley. *Findings on Korean-American Early Adolescents.* Kansas City: University of Missouri-Kansas City, School of Education, 1987b. [Copies available for $15 each by writing to Dr. Sang H. Lee, Director, Programs in Asian-American Theology and Ministry, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey 08542; or Dr. C. W. Choi, Presbyterian Center, 341 Ponce de Leon Ave., NE, Atlanta, GA 30365.] Studies indicate that the parenting styles among Caucasians can be categorized into three types', i.e., democratic, authoritarian and permissive. However, according to our study, about 50 percent of the youth characterize their parents as

being democratic while the other half view them as being authoritarian or permissive. The authoritarian or permissive parenting style may add to the youth's conflict, for it is characterized by inconsistencies in carrying out family rules and accompanying rewards and punishment.

Search Institute. *Young Adolescents and Their Parents: Project Report.* Minneapolis: Search Institute, 1984. A report on a national study of 7,000 early adolescents and their parents from 12 denominations.

SYMPOSIUM II: EDUCATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

EDUCATIONAL PERSPECTIVE SUMMARY

Moderator: Mrs. Hyun Kim

PANELIST RESPONSES TO DR. LEE'S PAPER

Rev. Hoon Jin Chai - Rockville Korean Presbyterian Church (Rockville, Maryland)

The multi-dimensional model is a good model to talk about in academic circles, but I have a hard time placing myself in it. It seems to be very theoretical. It frees me from linear thinking. But as a pastor, how do I apply this to the ministry? In our church, I tried intergenerational activities and bilingual services, but we still go back to the same basic thought form that homogeneity helps the church grow.

We tried to be multicultural, but soon we found ourselves in a linear situation. I have to choose whether I am Korean or American or in what situation do I play what kind of role. To Americans, I play a role as a Korean. To Koreans, I play a role of an American. So I have to find my identity, whether it is psychological or religious or sociological or whatever. So the basis we are living on is still linear. Multi-dimensional is the goal that we need to work on.

It is sort of the stage of growth. We start from the basics: Korean or American or Korean-American — we have labels whether we like it or not. We start from there and grow on to the multi-dimensional, someday. When we face God, then we may see the multi-dimensional model there.

Ms. Lisa Kang - Korean United Methodist Church of Greater Washington (McLean, Virginia)

I came to the United States in 1976 when I was nine years old. Throughout school I interacted with Korean peers and went to a Korean church. Before I read Dr. Lee's paper, I thought about my identity from the bicultural model. As a Korean-American I think I took the good sides of both Korean and American values. But having read this paper, I have a new insight on how to think about it.

First of all, I agree that increasing identification with one culture does not have to decrease identification with another culture. You can identify with both cultures. I agree that high culture identification is good.

One problem I had with the orthogonal model was that it did not quite address the interaction between the two cultures. He said identification with any culture is independent of identification with another culture. I do not believe that Korean culture and American culture are two separate identities independent of each other. There is inevitably an interaction between the two cultures. I cannot flip back and forth between being 100 percent Korean and 100 percent American. The two interact, and I have a new identity as a Korean-American. I might act differently when at home than when with Americans, but I am the same person nevertheless. It is good to identify with your culture as much as possible, but, living in America, it is inevitable that you need to assimilate. So, since you cannot get away from it, how healthy your new identity is as a Korean-American depends on how well you interact with the two cultures.

PANELIST RESPONSES TO DR. PAI'S PAPER

Mr. Matthew Park - Korean United Methodist Church of Greater Washington (McLean, Virginia)

I found Dr. Pai's presentation to be educational and enlightening. Through his presentation, I felt a lot of love because I think he prepared this in a way that really cares and shows deep concern for the future.

He examined issues of self-concept and identity as social beings and how those feelings are manifested

through behavior, attitude and decision making. I guess, to you, some of these concerns are urgent but somewhat necessary for normal development and growth. We now just possess a satisfactory level of knowledge of this situation. This knowledge must be followed by a commitment to loving, patient action.

I could not really agree that we can rejoice at the effect of achievement orientation. He said that we should rejoice particularly when our aspirations are higher than those of middle-class Whites. I feel we are getting a mixed message. Our parents tell us to live a Christian life and see where God is leading us, but, at the same time, they want us to be comfortable and have a nice house. I do not think we can truly rejoice until we have sorted out the true motivation for achieving these.

The statistics on help-seeking preferences were quite alarming. He said the last people we turn to are our parents. I think this is due to a lack of experience and really meaningful interaction. It is just that we have not had the experience while growing up to actually face these things together. So it is rather difficult now.

The paper discussed the view of the church. As our age increases, our commitment to the church decreases. The younger youth may like church because of their attraction to fellowship. When those kids get older and leave college, they do not come back because there has not been enough faith substance there to carry them through. When that collective body is not there, their faith is not there.

I think the title, "Caught in the Web," is a wonderful metaphor. We can look at the web as a predatory weapon of a spider, but I want to look at it as a beautiful, deliberate functioning device in someone's life. I think if we can sort out all those strands and see where they lead, that web will serve a function. What will come its way will be caught in there and be beneficial to our group and our development.

Rev. Beth Mitchell - Korean Community Church of New Jersey

I appreciate the title, "Caught in a Web." If the second generation is caught in a web in the American world then those parts of the country where there are great numbers of Korean-American immigrants and the society that has been established is also caught in that web. They are ill-equipped to cope with that.

I appreciated the beginning of Dr. Pai's presentation, which was an addition to the paper, where he began to shed some light on the difference between Western and Korean ways of thinking. The Western world view is very analytical, but Korean-American children are connecting this analytical world view to their Korean language and world view. Sometimes it does not fit very well. In his paper, he points out the numbers of profession choices in the hard sciences. He showed that 80 percent of Korean or Asian-Americans are in hard sciences in contrast to other helping and social service professions. Because of that, the social service part of our American culture is caught in a web.

Likewise, I appreciated your opening points about the different ways of fitting into this private way of thinking. It is a struggle for police departments, ambulance squads, and the court systems. I find myself going to the county courthouse or police department or local bank on a regular basis with Korean families and serving as a bridge person. In a courtroom, a judge may ask, "Do you have any questions?" A Korean parent will say, "No," because of this hierarchical understanding of power and authority. What has happened is that the families have left the courtrooms and made major mistakes in follow-up — at least to the court's eyes. Likewise, asking a Korean family to go to counseling does not connect between the cultures at all.

The paper refers to the need to understand youth issues. But I caution that we as leaders have to not abdicate our positions. We should not become their buddies. I do not see them asking for that anyway. I affirm the need for personal encounters with youth. The youth feel they are immediately cast into the role of having to listen obediently and quietly to the adult when the encounter takes place rather than being listened to. We need to keep working at it.

Regarding the alarming help-seeking statistics, the second generation churches can be an alternative peer group that enables the second generation to have weekly reflection on drugs, alcohol, sex, suicide and can clarify the misinformation that is very much a danger.

The paper says the church can be a place where we come together to network in our relationships. I believe that, first, the church is a place where we come together to find a relationship with Christ and to nurture that, and then network and have social relationships.

SPEAKER RESPONSES TO PANELISTS

Rev. K. Samuel Lee

Let me first say the presentation was meant to be theoretical. I did not get to write my conclusions or implications of what that really means. Rev. Chai's question, "How do we apply this? What does it mean?," is the essential question that we need to address.

I think the theoretical models are important because they are very powerful in shaping us as persons. We are still clinging to the outdated transitional model. Our understanding of who we are reflects that. The old models which classify us with regard to sex, age, or generation may be dated. They have been used to create distance between different groups. The different groups do not feel they have to include each other.

Living multi-dimensionally and multiculturally is

a challenge. The question is not, "Can we apply this practically?" The question needs to be, "Are we willing to change?" I believe American society needs to change. At the same time, Koreans have to change. As much as we see racism in American society, we see it within the Korean-American community as well.

Let me just give four things here that I believe are specific changes that we can make in our lives. We must change our attitudes and value judgments on what it means to be Korean or American. Second, we must recognize that we live in a multicultural society. Whether we like it or not, that is the reality. Often times church can function as a cultural trap of simply maintaining what we think is Korean culture. Third, we must teach our children so that they will become as much Korean as they can. At the same time, we need to allow them to become as much American as they can. And lastly, as researchers, it our challenge to test out this model and see whether we can clarify some of the unclear aspects of it.

My initial response to Lisa Kang about interaction between two cultures is that it is a very complicated issue for Korean parents.

Dr. Young Pai

I did do this project because I was personally concerned about that whole generation. A number of children wrote on the back of the survey that they were grateful that someone had asked their opinions. That tells you how starved they are to express their ideas.

I think your observation about aspiration level is partly correct. It is a lot better than having a high rate of dropouts. So it is something that we ought to celebrate. It is also easier for a pastor to talk to parents if there is some good news to begin with.

About communication between parents and young people, it is a very complicated issue. As you grow older, your problems become more complex so you need much more sophisticated language skills to deal with your problems with your parents. Parents cannot always handle that. The other part has to do with the culture. Communication in Korean culture is top down. There are certain expressions a younger person cannot say to the older person.

I am glad that you like the title, "Caught in the Web," because I previously used a phrase, "between a rock and a hard place." You find yourself in a very difficult situation with the idea of social service. I am really not sure that the Western notion of community is translatable into Korean because Korean culture is more concerned with familiar units which goes against public service and volunteerism. As long as we live in the United States, that becomes a key issue. When we talk about church as a community of the faithful, I wonder if we really mean that in the way it is meant in English. If you mean the church as a family, it can be a very exclusive, restrictive kind of concept. You do not become a member of a family voluntarily. You are born into it. That has problems.

Regarding youth issues, I think that young people often misunderstand *equality* to mean *sameness*. There is a difference between saying mother and daughter and father and son are equals. "They are equal before law" is quite different from "they are the same." Help-seeking preference is another very complicated issue. It is linguistic, it is cultural, it is communication style.

Lastly, what I was trying to say about the church being a place where young people have a supportive network, is that is simply the way things are. In the United States, all kinds of people come to church for all kinds of reasons. They do not all necessarily come to the church to find Jesus. But that is okay. That is where you start. According to the Search Study, most of the Caucasian adolescents come to church for the same reason. The church is very important to them. But if you say, "Is the church helpful to you?" "No, it isn't." "Then why do you come?" "Well, it's very important to my life because..." You know it is a supportive kind of relationship they find themselves.

COMMENTS FROM THE AUDIENCE

Unidentified pastor: Paul said, "Do not be conformed to this world but be transformed." What about, "Do not conform to your parents generation, parents culture or Korean culture?" Be transformed.

Rev. K. Samuel Lee: The problem seems to be our identification of Korean culture with spiritual things. He meant not to conform to worldly things but to adapt by transformation. We are cultural beings. We cannot live without culture. Even Jesus Christ lived within a culture. To transform the culture does not mean to move away from society and be devoid of it.

Mr. David Cho: Can the hypothesis you used in your survey be extrapolated to other age groups? The people who leave church will come back when they are in their thirties an forties. Are the churches ready for that?

Dr. Young Pai: We did extend those lines two years beyond high school. My guess is that the number of individuals not attending church would go up rapidly. That is true for any church. On help-seeking, fewer and fewer kids seek help. Counseling is a Western notion. Within Korean culture, we talk more about consulting and seeking advice rather than counseling, so that the numbers will continue to increase.

Are we prepared? I do not know. There is a project on this at Louisville Seminary, and the view is that people are not moving from the established churches to more evangelical churches, but that the people who left our churches tend to remain secular.

Mrs. Hyun Kim: I think we need to have another symposium with the first generation parents and pastors on this subject later.

Dr. Kim: This study is largely directed to teenagers. Their counselors deal with occupational aspirations. The data that I collected from college students is quite different. In terms of who they go to, their friends are still first. But very close to that is their parents. People change when they grow up. Maybe they

get more practical and so they consult with their parents.

Dr. Young Pai: It may depend upon the language skill of the parents of the samples. My subjects are adolescents so they would say, "I don't want to talk about it."

Answer: In addition, the occupational aspiration of the second generation Asians I surveyed, college students, is quite different from Dr. Pai's findings. It is much more diversified.

Dr. Park: Dr. Pai, our second generation Koreans are leaving the church as they grow up. Is there any thing that first generation Koreans can do to prevent this exodus?

Also, Rev. Lee, on the multicultural aspect, it is all right with us because we can absorb only the good parts of the cultures and eliminate the bad parts because of our maturity and education. The problem is that in the process of maturing the second generation absorbs both the good and bad aspects from both the Korean and American cultures. They do not know which is right and which is wrong. During that transitional period of time, how can we help to have them pass through easily without really much confusion?

Rev. K. Samuel Lee: If the parents, teachers and pastors have a clear understanding of who we can become, we can help them go through a healthier process. We probably need to change first. We first need to have a clearer understanding of what it means to be Korean and what it means to be American.

Dr. Young Pai: We talked about models of youth ministry, second generation ministry and English language ministry. We have not discussed what we ought to do. We do not know where we are going.

My advice to all adults in the Korean churches is to encourage young people to get involved with people outside our Korean church groups and our other ethnic groups. That is where you learn to live in the larger society. You do not have a warm-up for your life. We do things for all our children, so they do not know how to do things themselves. Encourage them get involved in groups other than their own and to try out things, even if they make mistakes.

Of all the young people that I talked to, Asian young people, particularly Korean-Americans, are the least articulate people in front of others. They mumble and sit down. This has to do with our cultural pattern. Young people are told what to do and to listen. The Korean church can do a lot in this area.

Rev. Shin: Can someone discuss the issues concerning AmerAsians? I do not know what percentage of the emerging generation is AmerAsian, it could be quite high. I think they are facing a totally different kind of identity formation.

Dr. Eui-Young Yu: Since the Korean War ended, from 1953 up to present time, about 100,000 Korean women came to this country married to American soldiers or diplomats. Their children are the AmerAsian children that you are talking about. So 100,000 women constitute one-third of all married Korean women in the United States. You can assume that the number of children born to them is very high also. But unfortunately, we do not know very much about them.

Also, since the late-1950s, about 80,000 Korean children have been adopted and raised largely by middle-class, White families. They are growing up in bicultural families, bi-racial families. That constitutes, again, a very high proportion of the Korean children, and we do not know very much about them either. Korean churches should be concerned about them.

Rev. Shin: There are a lot more interracial marriages now, not only in the military but also in the professional world. How their offspring will assimilate into the Korean-American fold will be interesting.

Rev. K. Samuel Lee: In our denomination, we have 350 Korean United Methodist churches. About 30 percent of their members are cross-cultural people. An established or wealthy church like this one does not face such a problem and does not know what is going on at the other side of the Korean community. This is a neglected area. And in many ways, in our behavior and thinking, we are discriminating.

Unidentified speaker: I think about 10 years ago more than 60 churches were made up of congregations in which more than 50 percent of the women were married to American servicemen. Today, at a church in Georgia, the congregation is 80 women and no men. In Savannah, Georgia, one church has only four Korean families, the rest are interracial families. So I think one-third of the United Methodist churches are made up of those people.

Dr. Young Pai: We need to be very careful about how we use the word *culture*. We can learn about different behaviors within different cultures. We have to think in terms of a particular world view or that particular set of values and ways of thinking. Yes, when I am with Koreans, I can behave like them. That is not quite the same as identifying. I do not think we have analyzed our own culture, and our young people have not learned American culture systematically. They learn American culture by living. So some parts they understand, some parts they do not.

Dr. Kibong Kim: I have been hearing questions about what Korean culture is. I do not have a quick answer. However, I am working with the National Association for Korean Schools to write a textbook or develop a course to teach the Korean culture to youngsters, for the fifth graders and up. We are trying to develop a course which would focus more on feelings than a list of facts.

THEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

"Biblical Reflection on the Second-Generation Korean-Americans"
by Dr. Chan-Hie Kim
— Summary by Philip E. Roh

"Called to be Pilgrims: Toward an Asian-American Theology from the Korean Immigrant Perspective"
by Dr. Sang Hyun Lee

Summary of Responses

SYMPOSIUM III: THEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

"BIBLICAL REFLECTION ON THE SECOND-GENERATION KOREAN-AMERICANS"

Dr. Chan-Hie Kim, School of Theology at Claremont

A Summary

by Philip E. Roh

According to Chan-Hie Kim, in his "Biblical Reflection on the Second-Generation Korean-Americans," the children of foreign parents suffer from an identity crisis. They are neither wholly part of their ethnic homeland, nor completely a part of their newly adopted country. Korean-Americans, especially, face this dilemma.

Like Jews, nearly one-tenth of Korean-Americans live outside their ancestral homeland (Kim, 1). Many are pushed immigrants, pushed by war, Japanese colonial rule and the dividing of their land by outsiders. The decision to leave home for a brave new world requires courage. For only under duress or extraordinarily difficult circumstances can one leave a home one has known all of one's life. Kim adds that it is a sad and unbearable loss to leave one's racial and cultural home. Korean-Americans are truly strangers in a strange land.

In considering the Korean-American situation, Kim asks many important questions: How do we understand our existence on this continent in light of our faith in God? What does the Bible tell us about ourselves, a group of late-comers? What does the Bible particularly say about our own situation if it is relevant to our faith and has something to tell us about our own life at all? Can we withdraw any paradigms, imageries, metaphors, or parables from the Scriptures that would help us not only understand our own life situations but show us future directions we should take? Do we have any right to demand to be a part of this established "kingdom" and be and treated justly and equally with those who have settled here earlier than we?

Kim argues that the Bible does have relevance and can help answer the above questions.

Is America truly the, as in the biblical metaphor, the land of milk and honey? According to Kim, perhaps it is, but while America is touted as "the most glorious of all lands" (Ezekial 20:6, 15), it still underwent "a period of Joshua [or conquest] and Judges [political struggles] . . . which gives . . . a totally different picture than what we used to know about America" (Kim, 3-4).

America's Solomonic glory and wealth are the result of the "westward movement of the conquering tribes" (Kim, 3-4). Former President George Bush's "new world order" is "a continuation of this movement" (Kim, 3). Today's Korean-Americans are beneficiaries of American expansionism and as such cannot deny responsibility for its consequences simply because they were not present when it happened. Their joining the collage of American tribal groups entitles them to the common history of Exodus, Joshua and Judges. As Kim says, Korean-Americans, as a result, should be respectful of and grateful to the Native-Americans who share this land with all. Korean-Americans, like all other immigrants, must realize that the land they come to "is not the land dominated by various independent tribes like 'the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Amorites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jubusites'" (Kim, 3).

The civil rights movement of the 1960s, culminating in the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., eliminated "many existing discriminatory laws and codes in the federal, state, and municipal governments..." (Kim, 4). It also helped enact civil rights legislation at all levels of government. Without the civil rights movement of African-Americans, Korean-Americans, or any other immigrant group, would have trouble seeing America as "flowing with milk and

honey" (Kim, 4).

Despite the enactment of civil rights legislation, the United States is still a land infested with racial bigotry and strife. The United States is not ethnically tension-free. Kim says, "Our participation in the mainstream of American life is limited not by our language...but by our very ethnicity" (Kim, 5). Sociologists contend that full assimilation is impossible without compatible (Caucasian) physical features. As such, America is very much *not* the "land flowing with milk and honey" (Kim, 5).

Although racism might be considered a precipitant to crime, especially crimes against small business owners in the inner city, it is only the criminal who commits crime, not the White, the Black, or the Hispanic. Kim writes that crimes are primarily based on economics, not on race and the "us-against-them" mentality. Korean-Americans do not share in the same freedom as the Israelites, rather, "the harsh reality of arduous American life" makes America "the land flowing with sour milk and sweet honey" (Kim, 5).

The transient role of persecuted-to-persecutor reverberates from the Israelites displacing the Canaanites to the Pilgrims displacing the Native-Americans. "Their freedom meant another kind of oppression...If the God of Israel is also the God of all nations, why does God fulfill justice by annihilating other nations?" (Kim, 6). Liberation theology, mute on this injustice, concentrates only on individual texts and does not consider the Bible in its entirety. Therein lies its fault. He says in "liberation theology 'justice' means liberation from oppression" (Kim, 6). He contends that it fails to note "the suffering and humiliation of the people conquered by the invad[ers]; it does not notice the fact that the liberated...become in turn the conqueror and oppressor of...people already settled the [new] land" (Kim, 6).

Kim goes on to highlight the other side of justice in the Old Testament. Therein, it is not only oppression, but fulfillment of His promise of "a land flowing with milk and honey." Kim contends that while the killing of thousands of innocent heathen lives is not so conscionable an act, it can be understood under the auspices of the Children of Israel as God's People. As such, they needed to remain pure and free of Canaanite contamination. Today's conquerors function under the same motivation. Today's Korean-Americans have the same kind of cultural values that need both protection and honor to preserve a cultural identity in America's multicultural society.

Kim argues that the center of the world is changing once again, that it is moving from Europe to the Pacific. As the descendants, residents and people of Pacific nations, Korean-Americans are poised to lead "in a country dominated by the descendants of the European immigrants and their cultures" (Kim, 9).

Just as the Children of Israel were united from their various tribes, the People of America shall one day be united from their various tribes. "Like the first-generation Israelites the first-generation Koreans may not be able to see the Land of Promise" (Kim, 9-10). Yet, the future is there, and their children, too.

NOTE

This summary has been made from the paper by Chan-Hie Kim, "Biblical Reflection on the Second-Generation Korean-Americans." School of Theology at Claremont, with the author's permission.

SYMPOSIUM III: THEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

CALLED TO BE PILGRIMS

TOWARD AN ASIAN-AMERICAN THEOLOGY FROM THE KOREAN IMMIGRANT PERSPECTIVE

Dr. Sang Hyun Lee,
Princeton Theological Seminary

"By faith Abraham obeyed when he was called to go out to a place which he was to receive as an inheritance; and he went out not knowing where he was to go. By faith he sojourned in the land of promise, as in a foreign land, living in tents with Isaac and Jacob, heirs with him of the same promise. For he looked forward to the city which has foundations, whose builder and maker is God...having acknowledged that they were strangers and exiles on the earth. For people who speak thus make it clear that they are seeking a homeland. If they had been thinking of that land from which they had gone out, they would have had opportunity to return. But as it is, they desire a better country, that is, a heavenly one. Therefore God is not ashamed to be called their God, for he has prepared for them a city." (Hebrews 11:8-10, 13-66)

We are called to be a pilgrim people. Like Abraham we have been called by God to live in a wilderness "as in a foreign land," as "strangers and exiles," not feeling wholly at home where we are, nor being comfortable any more about returning to where we or our parents came from. We must not live merely as wandering, aimless nomads, however. We can be a pilgrim people who are on a sacred journey. We have been freed from the hold of one culture or one society; we have been called "to go out" with visions for "a better country" which would be a true homeland not only for ourselves but for all humankind.

We (or our parents or grandparents) came here, of course, for various personal and very human reasons — for better education, for financial well-being, for greater career opportunities and the like. But we now find that we do not wholly control our circumstances by ourselves. We find ourselves in a wilderness, living as aliens and strangers. And the inescapable question arises from the depth of our being: What is the real meaning of our immigrant existence in America? What is the spiritual meaning of our alien status?

The biblical faith presents us here, I believe, with a clear vision — the vision of having been called by God to live as pilgrims, as his special servants. Having left behind us the security of belonging to just one world, we are now free enough to dream bigger dreams and to see larger visions than we might have otherwise. In other words, our alien predicament is something we can turn into a sacred vocation — that is, into a vocation of the pioneers who introduce creative advances and imaginative changes into human society in order to do God's will here on this earth. Such servants of God lead the often uncomfortable life of sojourners, pilgrims. But their lives are lives of hope and faith because their purpose and their visions have an unshakable foundation, even God himself.

This is the central biblical vision, I believe, that we must by God's grace bring ourselves to see and to appropriate. What follows is a modest beginning in fulfilling the task of elaborating upon the content of this vision. Let it be clear at the outset that the specific context from which I write is the Korean immigrant community — especially the first generation. For this reason, I do not and cannot pretend to speak for the experiences of all Asian-American communities. However, there is, I believe, sufficient commonality between my own context and the context of other Asian-Americans so that the following theological reflections may properly be thought of as at least one possible approach to an Asian-American theology.

DOING THEOLOGY IN ASIAN-AMERICAN CONTEXT

The Wilderness of Marginality

This search for the meaning of our immigrant existence in America began as an urgent personal quest. And this quest emerged out of an awareness of my seemingly permanent condition as an alien or stranger in this society.

My tacit awareness of all this received a painful but helpful clarification within the past several years. I learned that scholars in the field of minority studies had a theory and a name for my predicament, for the wilderness in which I was finding myself. A "marginal man" they called a person like myself. In a nutshell, a marginal person is one who is "in between" two cultures or societies without wholly belonging to either one. "He is poised in psychological uncertainty between two (or more) social worlds; reflecting in his soul the discords and harmonies, repulsions and attractions of these worlds, one of which is often 'dominant' over the other," wrote Everett Stonequist (Stonequist, 8). A marginal person furthermore, is often rejected by the dominant group. "He emulates and strives to be accepted by a group of which he is not yet, or is only peripherally, a member" (Marden and Meyer, 44-45). In other words, he or she identifies with, or has internalized, the norms and ideals of the dominant group but is rejected by that group. So, in this sense a marginal person is not only "in between" or "on the boundary" but also "outside," or at the periphery of, the main group of a given society. One rule that is often emphasized by the proponents of the marginality theory is that the more a minority person identifies himself of herself with the main group, the more that person would feel marginalized (Stonequist, 139; Kerchkoff and McCormick, 48-55). He or she will feel more "in between" and also more rejected. The highly educated and the second and later generations, then, are potentially the most typically marginal persons.

Marginality in the sense of being "on the boundary" or "in between" (bicultural or multicultural) is wilderness enough for anybody. But the element in marginality that clearly has the potential for being a dehumanizing power is the rejection by the main group. And this element is especially pernicious to the non-White minority persons in the United States. One Korean-American sociologist has written:

> Non-White immigrants may attain a high degree of cultural assimilation (adoption of American life style) but structural assimilation (equal life-chances) is virtually impossible unless the immutable independent variable "race" becomes mutable through misgeneration or cognitive mutation of the WASP. Koreans are no exception to this Lebensschiksal. (Hurh, 95)

A White European immigrant, in other words, would readily be accepted as "one of us" by the host society even if he or she hardly knows one word of English or a single fact about American history. But a non-White immigrant is automatically and almost permanently an outsider even if he or she is highly acculturated in the American way of life. With him or her race sticks. Many in fact reach the shores of this land already quite Westernized, some even with such names as John, Mary and Samuel and many of them with a deep sense of attachment to many of America's values and ideals. Something more painful than disappointment, then, is felt when they discover that the world which is already a part of them does not find them fit for a full membership in it.

In this way the problematic nature of the American wilderness for non-White persons begins to emerge into a clear view. The judgment expressed in the above quotation is perhaps too severe. But there is enough truth in it to make what it says a question of human and existential significance. One needs to belong. One needs to be able to place himself or herself, and be placed by others, in a way that is respected by the society in which he or she lives. To be human, one also needs to participate in the ongoing process of history, in the molding of the future. Will Asian immigrants ever be able to feel this sense of belonging in this country? If not, are they forfeiting their full humanity by staying here? Are they raising their children in a land where those children will never know the simple but basic joys of being just "one of us"?

Here we see the question that every non-White immigrant must face in the wilderness of marginality, and how one responds to it will be of existential significance to him or her and to every aspect of his or her life. Most of the time the tendency, we are told, is to escape, elude and avoid. And ultra-nationalism and its opposite, excessive assimilation, are the chief means of escapism (Gordon, chapter 5; Stonequist, 120-200). One tries unrealistically to return to his or her homeland while he or she is physically still here. That is, one tries to live as an Asian, while the reality is both Asian and American. Or one tries again unrealistically to live only as an American, rejecting his or her ethnic roots which in the eyes of the White society are not respectable. Extreme nationalism, of course, is the more usual mode of escapism for the first generation to whom the memories of homeland are strong and vivid. Excessive assimilation, on the other hand, is often the tendency we find in some second-generation Asian-Americans.

So we are back to the wilderness of American society. Marginality is a fact that cannot be avoided. And the question of how to live in it must be faced up to with all the seriousness as we can muster. Now, one thing we must understand as we deal with this question is that it is not simply a social, physchological or philosophical issue, but also a religious and theological one. This is so at least to those of us who embrace the assumption that human beings are essentially "religious" and cannot but ask the questions of ultimate nature. History of humankind teaches us that we are

all having to face what Paul Tillich called "ontological anxiety" before the basic uncertainties of human existence, and that human beings have the inevitable predilection to succumb to the temptation to avoid or elude this anxiety. Our problems, then, run deep. The problem of how to live an honest, authentic life in the face of marginality without escaping is in the final analysis a religious issue. Where and how can we attain the grace and faith which can give us that essential existential courage with which we can honestly face up to our marginal existence?

Pilgrimage as Theological Paradigm

My suggestion is that the biblical notion of pilgrimage may be the concept with which we can most appropriately discern the theological meaning of our marginal existence, in both senses of its meaning.

Who is a pilgrim? Here we offer a working definition: A pilgrim is one who, (1) lives with an ultimate loyalty to, and confidence, in the reign of God alone, (2) is willing both to leave the security of one's home and also to sojourn even in a strange land if necessary, and (3) resists the temptation to idolize either leave-taking or sojourning, either homelessness or home. The pilgrim lives "lightly" with only a tent over his or her head, always willing to embrace the dialectic of leaving and staying, of homelessness and at homeness, out of an unflinching trust in God alone (Soucek, 13-17; Turner and Turner).

Our proposal is to reinterpret our Asian-American existence (which I have called "the wilderness of marginality") with the help of understanding of Christian existence as pilgrimage. Our marginality in the first sense (the bicultural existence) will be seen as possessing the creative potential of functioning as a spiritual wilderness which all pilgrims who leave the security of home in pursuit of the promise of God must be willing to enter. Our marginality in the second sense (dehumanization) will have to be seen as a situation that calls for an ethic of re-humanization — that is, a praxis for justice and reconciliation as an essential dimension of the sacred pilgrimage to which we have been called. It should be noted that this present essay will not yet fully develop such an ethic but rather concentrate upon working out a rough sketch of what the overall picture of an Asian-American theological perspective with pilgrimage as the key hermeneutic motif would look like. The delineation of a more concrete ethic will remain as an important agenda for future work.

Two brief further remarks are necessary in regard to our starting assumptions. The first has to with the potential applicability of the marginality-pilgrimage perspective to various human contexts other than the Asian-American. With this potentially universal note in the concept of marginality (and, thus, in the concept of pilgrimage), could our Asian-American theology strive to speak at least some aspects of the condition of all human beings without completely losing our contextual concreteness? Tentative observations will be made in this regard at the end of this essay.

The other point to note here is our admittedly theocentric emphasis with the concomitant stress upon the sovereignty of God. We have spoken about pilgrimage as a vocation to which God has called us and is calling us. We start from the presupposition that the God who is not the God of the past and also of the present cannot be the God of the future (Gilkey, 226ff). We believe that the questions: Why has God brought us into this American wilderness of marginality? and, What is his will for my present existence in this wilderness? are as important as the question, To what kind of future is God leading us? Further, the ultimate reference point for all Christian reflection and praxis can only be the end that God himself has in mind for human history — an end that is never reducible to this or that human conception or embodiment. The meaning of the openness in our bicultural wilderness, we believe, can best be understood in terms of the image of a Christian pilgrim, for whom Christian existence is essentially a never-ending process of being transformed into a life more constant with God's will. We must of course never forget the critique that has been sometimes brought out against the perspective outlined here — namely the charge that a God-centered theology can, though it does not have to, turn into an eternalistic, other-world-oriented worldview which breeds quietism. At the same time, however, we cannot do with a deity who is in any way less than the absolute and sovereign Lord of all human life and all human history.

THE FAITH OF PILGRIMS

Like Abraham, then, we too are in the wilderness. And our wilderness is called marginality. How shall we live, what shall we do in this wilderness? To ask this is to raise the question, What does it mean for us to have faith in our marginal situation? We shall outline at least some aspects of an answer to this question, utilizing pilgrimage as our interpretive principal. In other words, we will try to reinterpret the meaning of our marginal existence with the faith of pilgrims as our model.

Marginal Existence as An Opportunity for Pilgrimage

A pilgrim is willing to leave the security of home and to enter the wilderness of homelessness in order to be open to the higher horizon of the purposes of God. Viewed in light of this understanding of Christian existence, the religious meaning of our marginality (in the sense of bicultural existence) can only be this: that we are called to appropriate or use our marginal existence as the path of pilgrimage. The life in a wilderness seems to be a training ground for all those who are called to be God's special servants. Abraham went out from his home looking for "a better country,"

but God first led him to a life of wandering. The children of Israel did not move directly from their slavery in Egypt to the promised land but were first brought into a wilderness. Jesus himself began his own ministry by first entering a wilderness where he both lived through testings and trials and also experienced the nearness of God the Father.

This is not to say that all Asian immigrants are automatically pilgrims. Wilderness is a lonely place where one is constantly tempted to feel homeless, to lose trust, and to build idols. As we noted already, Asian immigrants are tempted to avoid or elude their wilderness of marginality through ethnocentric nationalism, mindless absorption into the American way of life, or the other means. The human predilection for a life of security and ease overrides our better instincts and tempts us to shrug off our responsibility to follow the vocation of pilgrimage.

The possibility of appropriating the wilderness as our own can be plainly seen in the creative potentiality inherent in the nature of marginality. To go out from one's homeland and live on the cultural and social boundary line means to be freed from the dominance of one culture or one society. As the bearers of the image of God, human beings were never meant to live totally enslaved by the confines of certain finite principles, e.g., one's nationality, culture heritage. Human beings can live only within their concrete contexts, but they are also able to transcend the natural givens, to dream higher dreams and see greater visions. Marginality, therefore, is like the night or desert where all of our little and petty concerns recede into the background and give way to our more ultimate concerns and more significant aspirations. This is why whenever God calls certain men and women to work as his creative coworkers, he takes them out of their life security and thrusts them into the wide-open space of the wilderness. He wants his servants to be "in the world but not of the world." This is why when Jesus called his disciples they were asked to leave everything behind and follow him.

The creative potentiality of marginality has been pointed out by some recent social scientists. Arnold Toynbee, the renowned historian, has argued that marginal persons, having been thrown into the land of uncertainties have to ask themselves who they are and what their life's meaning might be, and that as a result of such self-searching, they can emerge as persons of creative visions and energies (Stonequist, 219). It has been pointed out that it is this sort of marginal persons who can advance human civilizations and cultures. Anthropologist Victor Turner calls marginality a "liminal situation" and points to its peculiar capacity to generate a genuine communion among human beings.

It is interesting to note that many feminist writers speak about the inevitability of an "experience of nothingness" for those women who reject the roles and values that have been defined for them by the male-oriented society. Only by living through this spiritual wilderness, argues Carol Christ, can women achieve an authentic sense of self and as authentic and new orientation in the world (Christ, 9-14).

What does this mean for us, Asian-American Christians? Does it not point to the possibility that our journey through the wilderness of bicultural marginality can help us achieve a clearer understanding of ourselves and of our place in the world as disciples of Christ? Does it not mean that we have been called to live as pilgrims in search of a more creative and authentic self-understanding and a more faithful Christian service?

We should hasten to point out that to face up to our marginality in this way is to acknowledge our powerlessness when measured against those who are at the center of the American culture and society. We do not, of course, boast of our powerlessness, there is nothing in that circumstance itself which we would care to be proud about. Marginal powerlessness in itself is no virtue. But, as we have seen, it is precisely through the experience of marginal powerlessness that human beings may achieve a greater self awareness and creativity. Perhaps it is for this reason that God often seems to choose those who are socially and politically powerless to serve as his special servants. When the boastful accomplishments of human powers and capacities shine and demand attention, the redeeming power of God remains hidden and unacknowledged. God chooses powerless persons. Those who would become instruments of God's will must necessarily undergo a kind of self-emptying and become "earthen vessels" so as to show that "the transcendent power belongs to God and not us" (II Corinthians 4:7). Most of the biblical figures who played some pivotal role in the divine history of redemption were marginal and powerless persons. Consider Abraham, Moses, the major and minor prophets, John the Baptist, Mary, Saint Paul, and even Jesus himself. All of them, as well as so many others in the Bible, were marginal people in their society, or took up marginality, to carry out their God-given vocation not wholly belonging to the power structure of the world in which they lived. Their marginality or powerlessness was used by them to make God's power transparent. They were free to live for the purpose of God rather than for the values of a given society and culture. They were free enough to live as pilgrims in search of the kingdom of God.

So, we shall be what we are, Asian and American, and we shall celebrate what we are, not primarily because of any inherent value in us but rather because of our intrinsic purposiveness within God's scheme of things. In other words, the good news for Asian-Americans is that in being culturally marginalized and socially powerless, we have an opportunity to become pilgrims. We can synthesize what is good in the Asian and what is good in the American and forge something that is new (Hurh, 1ff). And, as a people different from the dominant group in American society, we can work as creative agents of change who help make this society "a better country."

Some of my fellow Asian-Americans ask, How can anyone be both Asian and American? Would not such a two-sided existence on the boundary be confusing and thus debilitating? All that we have said so far has prepared us for a clear answer to this question. Our

ultimate identity lies neither in our being Asian nor in our being American; it lies rather in our having been redeemed by God's electing and atoning grace in Jesus Christ. Our identity is that we are now members of the Body of Christ, "God's People." And nothing in creation can separate us from this identity. If this religious dimension of our identity is clearly established in our hearts and minds, then our existence on the cultural boundary does not have to dishearten us. Such an existence will remain something confusing and even lonely. But such is our wilderness, and, for pilgrims, a wilderness can be a liberating and broadening experience.

Pilgrimage to Our Asian Roots

Thus, we are in the wilderness of marginality, called to go out on a journey for pilgrimage. What shall we do? Where shall we go? Ultimately of course our destination is the "city of God," and our task one of building a more humane and just society wherever we go. However, we cannot go on this journey as abstract human beings; we have to be concrete persons. And persons live caught up in time — that is, in a past, a present and a future. Without knowing the meaning of our past, we cannot participate in the making of history. Our pilgrimage, therefore, must take the form of a pilgrimage back to our Asian past and also the form of a pilgrimage forward to our Asian-American future.

All persons must take their own journeys back to their ethnic roots. This is true because ethnicity is a gift of God and also a constitutive or essential element of being human. Nobody is just a general human being. One has to be of a particular ethnic origin. Our Asian past, or heritage, therefore, is one of the ways in which God wants us to be human.

Ethnicity for us Asian immigrants in America, however, is of an especially critical importance because it is precisely on the basis of our race that we are often despised and rejected. In fact, our ethnic roots became somewhat invisible already when we were still in Asia. Under the influence of Westernized Christianity, the Asian cultural past has been thought of as something that we must leave behind us. Now here in America, Korea's 4,000-year-old history is almost totally invisible.

We can only be Korean-American pilgrims (or Chinese-American, Japanese-American, etc.): we cannot live and work as Asian-American pilgrims if we do not possess a positive appreciation of the meaningfulness and worth of our Asian past — including its culture and religion. All the campaigns to create a better public image of the Asian-American here in the United States will be superficial and in the end without substance if we do not make a sacred pilgrimage to our Asian roots and resurrect in our own souls a living image of our own past. And to do this means, above all, to re-evaluate the relationship between the Christian faith and the religious and cultural heritage of our own native cultures.

The missionary activity of the past was sometimes based upon the so-called exclusivist view that all other religions besides Christianity were wholly pagan, heathen, idolatrous, and sinful. To be converted to Christianity has meant, for Asians as well as for non-Western persons, the discarding of their own cultural ethos and thus part of their selfhood. It has meant being ashamed of having had a past, of having had a history, and thus of having been human beings. However, such a reductionist conception of evangelization is not true Christianity but rather an ideology based upon ethnocentrism and a misunderstanding even of Christian orthodoxy itself (Ryu, 149-184; Koyama, 70-75). The God of the Bible is not the God of one culture or of one history but of the whole world. Of course we cannot ever compromise the centrality and normativeness of the historical Jesus as "the way, the truth, and the life" (John 14:6). But that he is the way does not mean that there may not be other ways in which the eternal Second Person of the Trinity has worked and is working. Indeed, if we truly believe in Jesus as the way, we should be diligent in locating and appreciating all of the other lesser or similar ways in which the way is manifested and duplicated. Thus, in the name of the eternal Second Person of the Trinity and in the name of the eternal and universal Lordship of Christ, we must make a pilgrimage to all the Asian religious and cultural heritages and celebrate and rejoice whenever and wherever we find the Logos manifested. So we are not advocating a religious pluralism according to which it does not matter what you believe. We are already committed to Christ as he was incarnated in Jesus of Nazareth. He is unwaveringly "the pioneer and perfecter of our faith" (Hebrews 12:2). What we are advocating is that in the name of the same Christ our Lord we must regain a new appreciation of whatever God's truth we may discover in our own cultural past. At long last, becoming a Christian should cease to be the humiliation for having had a past!

Thus, we as Asian-American pilgrims must know our own past and learn to respect it. We must gather from it whatever truths we find there which are consistent with God's revelation in Jesus and must use them in building "better country" here on this American soil. Faith for us includes loyalty to Christ who is in our own Asian past, and the exercise of that faith is to go on a journey of pilgrimage to that past. To forget our Asian past is sin. To despise it is a rebellion against, an unfaithfulness to, the God of all histories and of all times.

It should be immediately added, however, that ethnicity like all other finite principles is not absolute and must not be worshipped. Ethnicity is a gift of God, but not God. This is why an ultra-nationalistic separatist within our own ethnic enclaves is an act of idolatry. Pilgrims of course know this. They are guided by their respect for where they came from. But they do not return to it. They go on their journey toward the "city of God." Their ultimate destination transcends all "homelands" on the earth. And their vocation is the never-ceasing transformation of all cultures and traditions. The faith of pilgrims, therefore, is loyalty to the God in their ethnic roots, and not to the ethnic roots themselves.

Immigration as Pilgrimage

We have just seen that to live and work as authentic Asian-American pilgrims, we must know and respect where we came from. But it is obvious that we must know where we are and where we are going. In order to shape the future course of life and work in a way that is realistic and relevant, we cannot ignore the fact that we have immigrated to America and that an American future is just as much a part of our selfhood as is our Asian past. But why do we need to speak about something that is already fact that everybody knows? Speaking particularly about the first-generation Korean immigrants, we ask, Did we not get the American visa and consciously immigrate to this country? Are we not here in America as immigrants? The fact of the matter is, however, that many of us have immigrated legally and physically but not in spirit and mind. We know that to immigrate into America in spirit is to enter the land of marginality, to feel the pain of being on the boundary and even of experiencing rejection by the host society. There is a widespread tendency among us to avoid this wilderness by staying within our Korean ethnic enclaves and by nostalgically holding on to only things Korean and rejecting all things new and American. As already noted, this escapist refusal really to become immigrants is the cause of a serious and deepening alienation between the first and second generations in the Korean immigrant communities and families (Yu, 75-98; Hurh and Kim). We are like the Hebrews who murmured against Moses about their hardship in the wilderness, saying, "What have you done to us in bringing us out of Egypt?...it would have been better for us to serve the Egyptians than to die in the wilderness" (Exodus 14:11-12). We are not saying that the homeland we left was Egypt. Our situation is not completely identical with that of the Hebrews. But we are like them in refusing to march through the wilderness with the faith that God is leading us on a pilgrimage. For this reason, we need to look at the meaning of immigration, and we shall affirm that to immigrate into other lands can be a sacred calling for Christians, for pilgrims.

First of all, there is a sense in which all human beings, even those who remain in their homelands, are called to emigrate to other lands simply by virtue of their being human. As we have noted already, human beings are created in the image of God and thus are inherently inclined to look beyond the horizon of their own society and of their own culture. Even those Koreans who are in Korea cannot help being interested in other lands and other peoples. In this broad sense, they are all immigrants while living in their own country. No human being can live as a human being without becoming an immigrant in this sense.

Secondly, there is only one God, and he has created and is creating everything; there is nothing that is not made by him. "In his hands are the depths of the earth: the heights of the mountains are his also. The sea is his, for he made it: and his hands formed the dry land" (Psalms 95:4-5). This would then imply that all lands, including this American continent, belong to him, and also that all his children should feel comfortable in staying in any part of this universe. Faith in this God, therefore, would mean that we, the Asian immigrants, should be able to live in any city, walk on any street, of this American nation, fully believing that this also can be our home. Is this not precisely what the prophet Jeremiah advised his Hebrew exiles in Babylonian captivity to do? In the book of Jeremiah are the following words:

> These are the words of the letter which Jeremiah the prophet sent from Jerusalem to the elders of the exiles, and to the priests, the prophets, and all the people, whom Nebuchadnezzar had taken into exile from Jerusalem to Babylon...
> It said: "Thus says the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel to all the exiles whom I have sent into exile from Jerusalem to Babylon: Build houses and live in them; plant gardens and eat their produce. Take wives and have sons and daughters in marriage, that they may bear sons and daughters; multiply there, and do not decrease. But seek the welfare of the city where I have sent you into exile, and pray to the Lord on its behalf, for in its welfare you will find your welfare." (Jeremiah 29:1-7)

Like Babylon, this American land is also God's own. Therefore we are being told by Jeremiah that we should not always look back to the land where we were born but should "build houses," "plant gardens," and "bear sons and daughters" in this American land.

But did we not say before that pilgrims do not permanently settle at any one place but are always on the move looking forward to "a better country, that is, a heavenly one"? Did we not say that for a pilgrim there is no true homeland here on this earth? Is not a pilgrim the one who is freed from domination by any finite principle and is thereby always enabled to dream bigger dreams and have higher aspirations? We do not believe that Jeremiah is denying any of this. He is not recommending that we should settle here in America as if this were our absolute and ultimate destination. America, as it is today, is not yet the promised land for anyone. What he is insisting upon, however, is that, in spite of the presence of much human sin and rebellion, the American land is still intrinsically God's own creation, and that for this reason we can sojourn here for a while and pitch tents. What this means is that a pilgrim's detachment from this world must not be understood to mean the Platonic or the dualistic belittling of all that is this-worldly, temporal, and finite. A pilgrim is "detached" from this world only inasmuch as this world is full of sin; but a pilgrim, as a believer in God the Creator of the whole universe, is also the one who is willing to sojourn in this world to work for God's kingdom. So, a pilgrim has the faith to sojourn in any part of this universe inasmuch as it is the good creation of God, but he or she also refuses to make any part of this world his final homeland inasmuch as he looks forward to the "city of God." A pilgrim believes that the true realization of God's will on earth still lies in the future, but also knows that in and through Christ's redemptive work the realization of

God's will can, at least in part, happen already on this earth. We the Asian-American pilgrims, therefore, always look for something better than the present Asia or the present America, but, at the same time, we do not mind staying for a while either in our homeland or in this American land, for we know that they are all God's.

There is yet another way the theological meaning of immigration can be shown — namely, in terms of the doctrines of Christ and of salvation. We cannot do any better here than to begin by quoting from H. Richard Niebuhr, who was himself a second-generation immigrant. He wrote in *The Meaning of Revelation*:

> ...He (Christ) is the man through whom the whole human history becomes our history. Now there is nothing that is alien to us. All wanderings of all the peoples, all the sins of men in all places become parts of our past through him. ...Through Christ we become immigrants into the empire of God which extends over all the world and learn to remember the history of that empire, that is of men in all times and places, as our history. (Niebuhr, 116)

Thus, to become one with Christ is to become loyal to that Christ who can be found to be at work in the life-stories of all human beings. Histories are not usually written, of course, as the histories of Christ's redemptive work. They are merely seen as the stories of the political, social, the economic lives of people. But the Christian understanding of history looks at the deeper meaning of those histories. All histories are, in other words, the stories of how Christ is attempting — often being misunderstood and sometimes even being crucified — to bring about a reconciliation among human beings and God. Conversion to Christ, therefore, means a conversion in one's memories, an enlargement in one's own consciousness as a history-remembering and history-making being.

We, the Asian immigrants, could have expressed our identification with all the children of God even if we stayed in our own countries. But by being here on this American continent, we have this special opportunity actually to live and work with the people of another land. We have, in other words, a special vocation — that is, the vocation of demonstrating in our own actual lives our supreme loyalty to the Christ of all nations as we courageously enter into the American world and identify ourselves with that Christ who is already here. We must, therefore, stop vacillating, doubting, and hesitating about whether or not we really should ever have immigrated into this foreign land. We must stop always looking only backward to our beloved homeland that we once left. We are pilgrims with a task. We must enter into this American society and join our Savior who has already been working here for a long time.

To immigrate seriously into America is, of course, asking for trouble. It is to be willing to become subjectively aware of the objective face of our marginality. We cannot forget what the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews wrote:

> So Jesus also suffered outside the gate in order to sanctify the people through his own blood. Therefore let us go forth to him outside the camp, bearing abuse for him. (Hebrews 13:12-13)

We must at least sometimes go out from our comfortable Asian ethnic communities and churches into the marginal wilderness of America. We must do this if we are going to be with Christ, for he is there "outside the camp." We must bear whatever abuse Christ himself bears in order to carry out our God-given tasks in this wilderness.

In the American wilderness, Christ and our children are not the only ones we will find. We will also find many Christians of all ethnic backgrounds (including Black, Hispanic, Native-American, and Caucasian persons) who are themselves in some ways marginalized and alienated. We must join with them as well as with our own children here, and then go on to build a genuine human community on this American frontier.

CHRISTOLOGICAL MODELS

The faith of the pilgrim, then is the faith that must be evoked and nurtured in the lives of the Asian immigrants in America. To do this, however, we need to lift up the concrete images or models that possess creative and transformative power. We can refer to many of the biblical figures as models of marginalized pilgrims with a sacred calling, such as Abraham, Moses, Ruth, the prophets, and so on. But our normative Image or Model, and Savior, is Jesus the Christ who is "the pioneer and perfecter of our faith" (Hebrews 12:2). The critically important task that lies ahead of us is to present Jesus Christ to our Asian immigrants as the pioneer and perfecter of *their pilgrim faith*.

Christ the Marginal Person

If we take seriously the doctrine of the Fourth Gospel that "the Word became flesh" in Jesus Christ, the Christ must be presented to Asian immigrants as a marginal person who did not wholly belong to any existing culture or society and who was rejected by the power structure of his own society. We must present Jesus as he is described in the gospels — a politically and socially "powerless" person who used his "powerlessness" for the reign of God. We do not necessarily have to picture Jesus as wearing Asian dress or having oriental physical features. But we must not fail to portray Jesus as the gospels portray him — that is, one who identified himself with and befriended the poor, the outcasts, and the marginalized. We do not have to insist that yellow is beautiful. But we must insist that what we do with marginality can be beautiful and sacred. And we will not be able to see God's

purpose in our marginality until we see that the Son of God was a marginal person.

Christ the Crucified

The logic of the Cross is that the giving of love and forgiveness necessitates suffering — that is, the giving of oneself. In this way, even suffering attains meaning. The Asian immigrants as pilgrims need to see that God himself suffered and suffers with them. The life of a pilgrim requires that he give up himself — his security, his self-preoccupation, and his self-interest. To face one's marginality with honesty means that one leaves her homeland, goes out of her comfortable ethnic community, and goes into a foreign land. But the Cross of Christ has shown that to love and care is to give up oneself. It means believing in Jesus who said, "he who finds his life will lose it, and he who loses his life for my sake will find it" (Matthew 10:39). Asian immigrants need to be shown that the Son of God was willing to lose his won life. Let me make one thing very clear: suffering as such is not a good thing. Suffering or being marginal must not be romanticized. But Christ was willing even to suffer for the purpose of his love, for the purpose of justice.

Christ the Resurrected

It was not just anyone who rose from the dead. The one who proved himself to be stronger than death was the marginal Jesus who was socially and politically "powerless" but who used his "powerlessness" as the opportunity to dream God's dreams and as the challenge to build God's kingdom.

The issue is this: whose power is the real power — the power of those who have the political and social status, or the power of the marginal pilgrims who struggle for a more just and humane society for this world? It was Jesus who was victorious over death. And this means that when we serve the cause of Christ, the Shalom, we, the marginal, have the real power because the real power belongs to Christ. And this power of God's love revealed in the resurrected Christ gives us the motivation to strive to build a world where no one shall be marginalized by others.

Christ the Eschatological Hope

The realities of the present day weigh heavily upon marginal persons. In terms of the way things are, the future certainly does not seem to belong to them. If they are to be motivated to live and work as creative agents of God's kingdom on earth, they need to believe in the *inevitability* of the final triumph of that kingdom. To live as pilgrims, marginal immigrants need to know that the final consummation of history belongs to Christ. They need to know that it is the same Christ who lived on earth as a marginal yet merciful and forgiving Servant who shall come again and consummate the establishment of God's kingdom on this earth.

THE TASK OF THE CHURCH

The church, then, from our Asian immigrant perspective, is the community of those self-consciously marginal pilgrims with a sacred calling to follow Christ. Within this community, this pilgrim faith will have to be nurtured and practiced. What must the church, then, do to nurture and practice this faith?

The Responsibilities of the Korean-American Churches

Apostle (kerygma): We must proclaim the good news that in God's eyes we are his children, that we are now "God's people," redeemed through grace from all darkness and sin. We must announce in word and deed the good news that bicultural life "on the boundary" *can* be a sacred calling and that we must make pilgrimages into both our Asian past and our American future. We must call upon our fellow Asian immigrants to meet this sacred challenge instead of avoiding it through either ultra-nationalism or excessive assimilation. To preach such a message, of course, may invite criticism from many sides. Some Korean immigrants, for example, will complain that the church is not Korean enough, while others will complain that is not American enough. Within the larger Korean ethnic community, the true Korean church of Christ may indeed have to be a "minority" group. Thus, Korean-American churches may have to face a double marginalization — first by the American society and then again by the larger Korean ethnic community which often tends to be nationalistic to ethos. Still, empowered by our pilgrim faith, we must fulfill the prophetic role of criticizing ethnocentrism wherever we find it.

Pastor (koinonia): This nurturing function is a critically important role of our Asian-American churches. The first item on the agenda is to foster a sense of community among those Asian-American Christians who are aware of their marginality and to empower them with a sacred vocational consciousness. The awareness of a shared marginality will tend to create a sense of solidarity that could not be built only on the basis of our common national origin. Such persons may be rather small in number at first. But the health of our ethnic churches will indeed depend on them. Without them, for example, a communication with our second generation will not be possible.

All aspects of the life of the church should, as much as possible, show the respectability of both sides of out identity — Asian *and* American. Asian traditional customs and ideas should be preserved and encouraged. But attention should also be given to the American side of our selfhood. English should be spoken when appropriate. An awareness of the issues and problems of American society should be encouraged. All this should be done with the clear conviction that both sides of our identity can be respected and affirmed because our ultimate identity lies in something that transcends all nationality — namely, in our having been called to be "God's people" through God's electing and atoning grace in Jesus Christ. This means

that beyond and above our attention to our racial identities we must instill and nurture in our fellow immigrants an unwavering faith in the indestructible love of God. The more ostensibly social dimension of our nurture and the more ostensibly religious are not in any way separable from each other. But still they are not reducible to either the one or the other.

The most urgent note that needs to be sounded in regard to the church's pastoral or nurturing function, however, has to do with the plight of the second generation. The marginality theory tells us that the immigrant youth may have a far greater sense of marginality than any other group. The way things are right now, these young people feel rejected and alienated by both sides of their Asian-American identity. They are rejected by the White American society. But when they return to their Korean homes and to their Korean churches, they are often alienated against because their parents and elders disapprove of their "excessive" Americanization. These young people urgently need the nurturing ministries of the church of Jesus Christ. They need to be told that they, as Asian-American Christians, are part of God's Family. Churches should not be ashamed to be truly Asian-American, bicultural, so that they can show indeed that these Americanized Korean youth can be proud of their hyphenated identity.

Pioneer (diakonia): The pioneer function of our churches is to live the pilgrim faith in actual life so as to provide the world at large with an example of what a Christ-centered life can be. The Korean immigrant church's need to become actually Asian *and* American in character has already been discussed. What we need to highlight here is our church's responsibility to build a bridge of mutual support and encouragement with churches of other ethnic backgrounds. Since Korean immigrants perceive themselves as being marginalized and even rejected by the Anglo-American society, they find it difficult to establish close ties with American congregations. As far as I know, most attempts at joint programs and meetings have had only a very limited success. But this should not discourage us. As indicated already, there are many Anglo-American Christians who feel alien in their own churches. They can be fellow pilgrims with us.

Also, our responsibility to cooperate with all Christians of all races in our common struggle for humanization and justice cannot be overemphasized. As strangers, we know the heart of the stranger. We have the responsibility to help their profession, or their sex. These persons need to be told that their marginality though not a virtue in itself, can still be used for pilgrimage and for creative service. They need to be told that they can be beautiful people who live for the future as defined by Jesus Christ and not for the future as defined by the rich and the powerful.

The Pilgrimage to One's Ethnic Roots: We interpreted ethnicity as one of the divinely appointed ways in which human beings are human beings. But we also pointed to its finitude. One implication of this, at least, is that the White American Christians must go on a journey to their particular ethnicity. Thinking of the Caucasian ethnicity as one among many families of human beings rather than as the super race, may have many salutary results. Benjamin Reist has expressed the matter as follows:

> One cannot think Black or Red at the same moment without doing violence to one or the other. And so the road to inexhaustible freedom for Whites involves becoming neither Black nor Red, but White, for the first time. It involves becoming White as liberated into particularity, the particularity of being one component in the full mosaic that is humanity; becoming White in such a way that White cannot be White unless Red and Black are equally present in the historical space that is human liberation. (Reist, 183)

Immigration as Pilgrimage: Finally, we have interpreted immigration into other cultures and histories as an integral part of one's conversion to Christ who is the Lord of all cultures and histories. It is often said that America is a land of immigrants, but the fact of the matter is that most Americans have ceased to immigrate a long time ago. Just as in the case of many Korean immigrants, Americans too have the tendency to succumb to the temptation to limit the building of the true home where all peoples, women and men, will rejoice in God's love and in genuine human communication. In this struggle, we need to learn much from the Black, Hispanic, and Native-American brothers and sisters, as well as from many White American Christians who know they are pilgrims.

Some Implications for the White American Churches

The Asian-American theology cannot determine what the Christian theology within the White American context should be. Nevertheless, if what we have said so far is basically a Christian perspective, it should have some valid implications for American churches in general.

Marginality as an opportunity for pilgrimage and service: We have interpreted marginality as possessing a potential for self-transcendence and creativity. We have affirmed that marginal persons are called by God to live and work as pilgrims toward "a better country." In this world that is governed so often by the "principalities and powers," Christians can only be "exiles and aliens," that is, pilgrims.

Much of American Christianity needs to become a little marginal — that is, to be liberated from the overpowering influence of the American culture. American churches must not be afraid to go "outside the camp" where Christ is — that is, into the wilderness of cultural and social "in-betweenness." American Christianity must become culturally "open" so that many sorts of persons can find a sense of community in it.

The hope for White American churches, then, lies in those faithful ones who are willing to be pilgrims. I know many White American Christians and their leaders who love Jesus of Nazareth in their hearts but feel like strangers in their own churches. I know many

White Americans who feel diminished and powerless because of their social and economic status, horizons of their life to the culture and their own ethnicity. Is it not incredible that, in a land that boasts of being the land of immigrants, very few people are capable of, or interested in, speaking foreign languages? Is it not also noteworthy that a culture that at one time aspired to become the "melting pot" of all human traditions has largely dismissed as pagan and worthless many of the world's religious and cultural traditions?

The implication of the conception of Christian existence as pilgrimage would be that the White Christians, like Asian immigrants, have the responsibility to lead their people on an unending journey of pilgrimage to a "better country." And such a responsibility would certainly include the task of becoming spiritual immigrants into other cultures and traditions. The White Christians, like all others who would live as pilgrims, must find a way to let the Christ of the whole world become their Master and Lord even in their historical rememberings by learning to respect and honor him wherever the traces of his presence are found. Gleanings from such rememberings may indeed help all of us in achieving an every greater understanding of what God has been trying to tell us in Jesus Christ. In order to embark upon such a pilgrimage, White American Christians, just as the Asian pilgrims, of course, must begin with their firm self-identity as "God's people" — that is, as the children of God who have been called by God's grace to live for Christ and to live in Christ. All Christian pilgrimages are grounded and have the ultimate goal in the God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

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SYMPOSIUM III: THEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

THEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE SUMMARY

Moderator: Mr. Young Hwan Park

PANELIST RESPONSES TO DR. KIM'S PAPER

Dr. Young-Chan Ro - George Mason University (Fairfax, Virginia)

Dr. Kim's paper consists of three major issues. First, he raises the issue of how Korean-Americans understand American history. Even Anglo-Americans or European Americans have developed a certain model for understanding that all history is from a certain model, basically from the biblical model. Robert Belah has already used that particular model and created a new way of understanding what America is all about, civil religion, that not just Christian, but all structures are based on biblical metaphors. Our job as Asian-Americans or Korean-Americans is to reinterpret what Anglo-Americans and European Americans have done and to understand our own history from different perspectives.

The second part involves interpreting biblical metaphors such as the ideas of Exodus, justice and liberation. We cannot simply say, "This is justice." Justice for me may be injustice for you. Liberation for one people may be at the same time oppression for other people. So how can we overcome this kind of dialectical situation? This is a critical issue, not just that this is an issue of Asian-American theology, but overall the most profound issue is how to overcome this. This is not just our own problem. This dualistic way of thinking is deeply rooted in the Judeo-Christian tradition.

The third part is the wonderful vision that Korean-Americans must have some kind of a cultural sense of pride and self understanding that we are able to contribute, not just from an American point of view but also from our own Asian cultural heritage.

He said that we do not have our own unique religion. He is right. Yet we do have our own culture. But in many cases, scholars of religion argue that religion and culture are not separable. Even if we are not Buddhists or Confucianists, still our culture reflects these values. However, in terms of the future, we have a mixed blessing. We do not have our own Korean religion, yet we have the ability to observe many religions — Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism and all the traditions. Now we are about to make that kind of act in terms of Christianity. Christianity is no longer a Western religion, but it has become our religion. So in that sense, Koreans have a unique ability to capture these major religions from other countries and other cultures and to make those religions our own unique religion.

Mr. Do Hyun Kim - Yale Divinity School (New Haven, Connecticut)

Dr. Kim said there are two meanings of justice in the Old Testament. One meaning, as in liberation theology, is liberation from oppression. But sometimes Yahweh is depicted as the oppressor. So in that situation, justice is expressed as Yahweh's fulfillment of promise even by, using Kim's words, "dispossessing Canaanites." Then he asks some questions like, "Can killing Canaanites justify?" I was expecting an answer, but there was no answer.

Dr. Kim is a New Testament scholar, but he ended his paper without talking about the New Testament. That made me think about some relevant passages in the New Testament for us.

First naturally, I thought of I Peter which was written to the outspread Jews in Asia Minor in the first century. I Peter discusses the identity problems among Gentiles and their moral problems among morally corrupted people. Even I Peter talks about first and second generation problems there and the historical and sociological environment in which the first century Jews lived which seems to be very similar to our situation.

James has a lot of material for us. It describes the conflict between the rich and the poor and favoritism in many passages. I found out that the rich described in James was actually rather middle class. If we take Korean-American society here, it is very middle class, a little bit upper middle class, a lot of doctors and

lawyers. I think one of the themes we kept talking about is discrimination, whether it is a gender issue or underprivileged people.

Lastly, from the beginning of this symposium, the gender issue has been very important. As a student of the New Testament, I struggle with the interpretation of I Corinthians 11, where it says women should be "silent" in the church. Or I Timothy 2:11-15, where the writer says, "I do not permit women to teach or exercise authority over men." I suspect that if there is sexist discrimination in the church, those texts are somewhat responsible. My position is that obviously those texts have been misinterpreted and misused to oppress women in the church. I think we need to search for the right interpretation of those scriptures.

Also, I have referred to some of the commentaries that are written by Americans and European scholars, but I cannot really get any help for my Korean-American audience. Why do we not have Korean-American Bible scholars writing commentaries for Korean-American people?

PANELIST RESPONSES TO DR. LEE'S PAPER

Dr. Yoon Soo Park - Korean United Methodist Church of Greater Washington (McLean, Virginia)

I must admit this is the first time I was exposed to the concept of Asian-American theology. While reading this text I was very stimulated and challenged, but still I was thinking that this is very difficult to practice in reality.

There are several types of Koreans in this country like the Korean in America who is very nostalgic about the homeland and the American-born second generation Korean who wants to assimilate into the American society. But Dr. Lee is addressing those who are conscious about in-betweenness and the bicultural influence in their lives.

I came to the Korean church simply because when I sang hymns in a familiar language I felt warmth and nostalgia. I felt comfortable mixing with my fellow Koreans. Also, in a sense, I understood the meaning of the gospels better through the Korean preaching. Now Dr. Lee is trying to tell us to find meaning as an immigrant, as Christians and as Korean immigrants.

Dr. Lee insisted that in order to make some Asian-American theology, you have to firmly understand your Asian and Korean past. It is easy for first generation persons like us, to some extent. We can appreciate our Korean cultural background, but it is harder for the second generation. If we want to disseminate this theology, we have to build a program in Korean communities to teach the cultural aspects and the roots of Korean civilization.

Ms. Tammy Chung - lay member, Los Angeles Korean United Methodist Church (Los Angeles, California)

When Dr. Lee first talked about pilgrimage, I was very disturbed. He said that we are in the wilderness of marginality. I can buy the marginality argument, because I do feel in between two cultures. However, when he said that we are constantly moving and pilgrimaging and that homelessness is what God intended for us, I did not like that idea because I wanted stability. I was forced to come to the United States, although I am glad that I am here, but I consider this my home. I will never be able to live in Korea. But Dr. Lee says, you can never feel really comfortable because you are always in a pilgrimage and you are sent wherever God meant to send you.

However, as I read more, I felt that I was thinking too much from a selfish point-of-view. I was not looking at my life as a Christian, that I should see my life is in terms of how God wants me to see my life, and that there is meaning in everything that God does and there is meaning in what I do every day in representing God's will.

From Dr. Lee's point-of-view, there is a meaning to what we are going through. There is a reason for the struggle between Korean congregations and English-speaking congregations. God wants us to express the Good News, to better ourselves and the people around us so that we can make a better country. That really appealed to me because the idea that, as Christians, we should better our environment is very good. I feel really proud of my heritage, so I can share that.

I feel like what Dr. Lee was talking about when he said, "making a better country," was that White people in this country are also being marginalized. I think he did not deal sufficiently with the marginality that the majority society is starting to experience. Rev. Mitchell talked about the community around her church experiencing marginality because they have this Korean-American church in their community. I think that in the United States, with statistics showing the growth of minorities, people are feeling more marginal, that they have to try to accept other ethnic groups in their midst. It is our duty as Christians to better this country by sharing our ethnic background so that we can create the country God envisioned, multi-ethnic and equal.

However, Dr. Lee did not really talk about the domination of Korean-Americans by the majority of society in this country. But I do feel oppression as a minority. There is oppression of women. There is oppression sometimes of older people or younger people. He talks about how we cannot achieve structural assimilation and that we do need to address the liberation theology side. We have goals for our children, good education, becoming professionals. I think that is part of countering the oppression that we feel.

Lastly, I finished reading his article and thought, "Well then, what is the future?" We are in this pilgrim-

age. We went back to our culture. We are all set in the Korean heritage. So now what do we do? He was very specific about our past, but he was not specific at all about the future. I really do not know how I can relate my pilgrimage to everyday life.

SPEAKER RESPONSES TO PANELISTS

Dr. Chan-Hie Kim

Yahwehism is the reality the Israelites took with them when they went to Canaan. I was thinking about the statement that Koreans never had a unique religion. On second thought, Confucianism and Buddhism became integrated as part of our culture. So there is no way we can get away from that tradition. So that is a part of our religion already.

Secondly, I appreciated Mr. Kim's point about James and I Peter. I really never paid attention to the New Testament for this even though that is my specialty. That is a good point.

Regarding Yahweh as the oppressor, in the Old Testament, Samuel said to kill everybody, even innocent infants there. But King Agag was captured alive so Samuel took a sword and just killed the king in front of everyone. Some chaplains used that to justify themselves during the Vietnam war. This is a misreading of the Bible. But it is a hard one for us to understand: how God commanded the killing of the persons. That is justice because of God's promise to the children of Abraham. So in that sense, they justified the killing. Of course in using the Bible for ethical decisions, we have to be very careful and consider the context.

Rev. Charles Ryu

On the comment on comfort, "I come to Korean church because it is comfortable for me," the pilgrims never find comfort in this world. How do you reconcile that inconsistency? Actually the one who gives a better answer is a professor at Western Illinois University. He says the way you use the word comfort is how you have meaning in it. That is how I would respond. The question of comfort in the Korean church is, "I find meaning in the Korean church, I find a certain meaning that I do not find anywhere else." And this is a precious gift.

But Dr. Lee would respond by using two categories, ultimate concern and pan-ultimate methodology. Ultimate is the highest concern. The pan means next to that or something like that. Our concern is to be a pilgrim, never to be satisfied with what we have. But if we are constantly lost and beaten, we cannot continue. Therefore we need a comforting support of fellow sojourners and fellow pilgrims. That community of pilgrims will help us to go on to this difficult task of living. Korean community, church, provides that pan-ultimate situation. It is second best, but do not even settle there.

Dr. Lee also says the ethnic church by definition is idolatry, because God wants all of us to be together. He feels the reason we have an ethnic church is less because of Koreans or other ethnic people being unable to cope, but is more in response to a failure of the dominant church, White church, to allow Koreans to be a part of that. But Korean-Americans can have the same fixation, as the liberated people becoming the oppressors again. Dr. Lee would say that in the Kingdom of God, either on earth or in heaven, everybody will be together in a truly multicultural way. But until we get there, we do need provisional means. That is the role of the ethnic church, to support and comfort the bruised and tired pilgrims so they can be replenished and go on their journey.

The charge of not charting down the future, I do not think, really has an answer at this point.

The charge of not paying enough attention to marginality is also a liberation issue. This is the answer he would give, at least up to one-half year ago: He would encourage second generation people who feel this is important to develop it and teach him. He did this from a first generation perspective. From that perspective, he finds the marginality pilgrimage symbolism very powerful, and a lot of other first generation people find comfort and meaning in that way of reasoning.

COMMENTS FROM THE AUDIENCE

Rev. Charles Ryu: One clarification about pilgrims. This is not a nostalgic movement going back to the past, but going forward to the future. For example, Martin Marty at the University of Chicago wrote a book called *Pilgrims of Their Own Land*, which means that Americans are on a new pilgrimage for every generation. This is kind of a process of finding their collective identity in light of their cultural group and religious tradition. We are between tradition and future. We have to check our past as a kind of reference point, so that it is an ongoing process — not just a spiritual, but also a collective, social identity.

Mr. Peter Kim: We have to understand the theological background that Dr. Lee comes from. It is very predictable for him to leave us with questions about the future. His theological background comes out of Abraham's experience of God telling him to get up from his comfort and go. Abraham simply responded and went. When he did ask questions and try to do his own little things, he got in trouble. Yet when he finally come back and simply trusted in God's providence then things were all right again. So if we take that as a metaphor, then God's future that he is revealing to us is always open-ended.

Now in an ultimate sense that is true, but in terms of our immediate future, for example, becoming suc-

cessful in this world, he would say, "Do the best you can." So this theological model is not something that we try to figure out and act on. But it is much more like God is the one who has already set the future, ultimately speaking, and then tells us what to do. Whenever we try to find our small niche and comfort, he tells us to get up and go. We simple react to God.

Mr. Juan Ji Kim (Western Jurisdiction, Korean mission superintendent): I agree with Tammy Chung's comment about Dr. Kim's paper for the second generation. I am thinking of the Korean town businesses and a lot of the victims in the Korean towns in Los Angeles. Many Koreans, including the second generation, are proud of their wealth. I think that could offend people of other races. For the second generation, it is a good lesson to hear and appreciate the pilgrim image. To go to the promised land, he emphasized, you go through the period in the wilderness. The second generation and their descendants are trying to experience the promised land. By skipping that period, we try to enjoy, to prematurely celebrate, the promised land.

Rev. Kiyul Chung (University of Maryland chaplain): I would like to make a small suggestion for a future symposium. I hope we can talk about the things going on around us. We are part of the great many nationalities and people in this country. But we hear every day that the United States is the "land of milk and honey," but neglect what this country has done against people in other parts of the world and what happened to people of color in this country. About 68 million Native-American people have perished since Columbus came to this country. And what about African-American people since 300 years ago? What has happened to them? Even these days, there is David Duke from Louisiana, the Nazis, and this White race supremacy. In Washington, D.C., more than 460 people every year are being killed, mainly people of color.

I hope we can discuss what our responsibility should be in relation to other people of color who have suffered more than us. As you put it, without having the African-American peoples' suffering, we would not enjoy the freedoms and benefits we have now. We should be concerned not only from our own Asian-American perspective but also in the term "solidarity" or in relation to the other "the oppressed" or the "underprivileged people in this country and other parts of the world."

Rev. Charles Ryu: I think a lot of people would have very little difficulty with Dr. Lee's marginality analysis. I think most of the problem comes in the pilgrimage image. One of the mistakes that Dr. Lee made is a very important philosophical categorical mistake. (For example, experience revelation cycle addresses the problem human beings have and the solutions addressed to the problem. We are dealing with different levels of truth and different levels of causality.) Dr. Lee mixes that causality. And that is a problem.

Marginality is our specific material reality. Pilgrimage is a spiritual symbol. So what happens is that he wants to hold on to this pilgrimage image and it is the pilgrimage image that becomes the guideline to read into the marginality situation. So he had the answer before the problem. He describes the problem to fit the answer he already had. We transported the material reality to purely spiritual reality. So once you find the solution it is almost impossible to go back to the reality to apply it. That is why a second generation person just said, "Now what? What do I do with it?" Not much. And that is the problem.

However that is not unique to Dr. Lee's theology. Most theology is like that. For example, one aspect of the Gospel of Mark is "those who follow Christ are persecuted and Christ says the end is coming and I am the agent to bring about the end. Follow me you will be saved." But the end did not come. So the writer of Mark says, "But hang on to that suffering because once Christ comes back you will be vindicated." Therefore this suffering makes sense. So the answer does not address the question. Only there, Dr. Lee reversed the logic. We are suffering, but there is a promised land. But if you are going to ask what causes the marginalization and what God has to say about the cause of marginalization, once you enter the pilgrimage image there is no way to answer that.

Unidentified questioner: When you talk about being a marginal man or woman, are we being excluded by this Korean culture or are we being exclusive? When we are in the wilderness, how are we going to get out of the wilderness? What do we teach our second generation? There is this condition that we cannot change. What do we do with this condition? Do we just sit back and cry or what do we do?

PANEL DISCUSSIONS

Sharing Models of Ministry

Sharing Visions for the Future for the Korean-American Community

PANEL I: SUMMARY

SHARING MODELS OF MINISTRY

Moderator: Anna Rhee

Paul Choi - English Language Ministry, Korean United Methodist Church and Institute (New York, New York)

The English Language Ministry at the Korean United Methodist Church and Institute in New York was established in 1986 by elders and parents of the main congregation to establish an English language ministry so that, in the future (30-40 years down the road), the younger generation could take up church administration work and ministry. The church split in 1988. When that occurred, the future of the English Language Ministry was in question. The pastor who had supported the ministry left the congregation, and there was a disagreement on how to deal with the ministry. Despite the turmoil, we were able to maintain an autonomous governing body.

Now we are supported by the main congregation. About half of the financial resources come from the main congregation, but it has no authority in how we run our church.

We have a very amiable relationship with the main congregation, but there still are some members of the main congregation who see us as a financial strain and burden. Other people who have mostly been in the United States longer feel that this ministry is the future for the Korean-American church. They expect us to pick up the roles of the church leaders. Preparing for the future is a major task for the English Language Ministry. While attending to younger Korean-American Christians, we also have to carry the extra responsibility of taking care of our parents.

For the future, our task is to bridge the gap between English-speaking and Korean-speaking members. We are currently developing a mission statement for 1992, and we have to incorporate how our English-speaking congregation not only can improve relations with the main congregation, but also prepare ourselves to take on the roles of the main congregation.

Rev. Peter Kim - Torrence Korean Presbyterian Church (Torrence, California)

Before 1987, the Torrence First Presbyterian Church, like most of the churches in the Korean-American setting, did all of what we call second-generation ministries (English ministries, worship, Bible study) through one committee under the Presbyterian Church's General Session.

Our ministry was expanded to include post-college persons and later became an English ministry without an age limit. Then we created another series of committees such as the worship, fellowship, missions and nurturing committees. In 1989, following a joint planning retreat, we approved a plan for a new committee in the General Session, called the Second-generation Ministry Committee, which addresses all issues (excluding Sunday school) regarding second-generation ministry. A new staff member was hired to take charge of Christian education and I was switched to second-generation ministry to address the ministerial aspect. From that point on, the second-generation ministry has operated like a board of deacons.

By 1992, we began to feel that the term "second-generation ministry" was not sufficient in defining the type of ministry we were trying to cultivate. We recognized that there was a small pocket of people who identified themselves as bilingual. Also, since college age persons could not identify themselves simply as adults in the Korean cultural context, they felt a strong need for their own ministry.

Looking back, we identified a problem of having only one elder in the General Session to speak for the needs of second-generation people. So we created an advisory council of five or six elders who would meet regularly and discuss English ministry needs. Now, the younger people will not have to speak up by themselves. The advisory council will help the younger people do those things.

For our long term goal, beginning with 1995, we are hoping to become parallel with the Board of Deacons under the General Session so that our representation in the General Session is automatically broadened. Lay leaders, then, of the English ministry would become elders of the church. But we do not foresee a

separate General Session. Even though we might have to struggle, I would much rather see more inclusiveness.

Korean church demographics call for attention to education of existing small church pastors so that the pastors will include the second generation in their ministries. We need models and more educational opportunities for existing churches and pastors.

Rev. Beth Mitchell - Korean Community Church of New Jersey (Leonia, New Jersey)

I am from the Northern New Jersey Conference of The United Methodist Church. My first appointment was with a typical Anglo church. Then I was asked to serve the Korean Community Church which did not have a congregation yet. At the time, Rev. Hae Jong Kim was the district superintendent. He knew of my earlier ministry and of my marriage to my husband, who is from India. One important element of the appointment was that I was to be the co-pastor, not an assistant. I think the position has great significance, particularly since I am a woman, because I had the status, authority and power that went with my ordination.

The model that emerged is similar to what Rev. Peter Kim has shared. We have a train track ministry: two necessary rails. We have a Korean speaking track and an English speaking track, and there is a smaller bilingual group that is very important. So this train track ministry intersects when necessary and important.

The other thing is a major issue of trust. I admire my Korean church for taking a tremendous risk of inviting an Anglo pastor, male or female. One legitimate fear was that I, as an Anglo pastor, could be a model that would take away their children even further.

After one year, my congregation sent me to Ewha Women's University to learn Korean culture and language. This gave me a new level of understanding in terms of my local church setting.

I also serve as a bridge person between the congregation and the mayor, police department, and social service agencies. A liaison committee was established three years ago to help represent the needs of the English language ministry to the Administrative Council.

We have mid-week services, Bible studies, and Saturday night programs for seventh through 12th grades, college and young professionals. These include recreation, dinner, singing and 1.5 generation Bible study. The second generation needs formality, dignity, and a level of importance in worship and in relationship to Korean language ministry.

Paul Murayama - English Speaking Congregation, Los Angeles Korean United Methodist Church (Los Angeles, California)

I am a third generation Japanese-American. Fourteen years ago, our English Language Ministry had only four members. Rev. Dae Hee Park had a vision for the second generation to have a larger space within two years: enlarged parking, fellowship hall and Sunday School facilities. The Korean language congregation sacrificed itself financially for the future of the English-speaking congregation.

In the last three years we have really progressed. We are setting up a structure with the CDM, our executive board. We also have three committees: outreach, nurturing and age level ministries.

Our congregation is mainly made up of youth, college age and young professionals. We started a new group a couple of years ago called the postgraduate fellowship. I see a lot of energy and strong commitment growing. I have found that there is a big hunger for renewed spirituality.

We are very active and are starting to reach out into the community to help in soup kitchens and visiting convalescent homes. We made a trip to Mexico and sent carloads of donations to poor people there.

I have been lucky to be involved in the lay speaker program in Los Angeles. I value my experience there with people from other races. I recommend more interaction with people from other ethnic groups as a way of educating young Koreans and all other Asian groups. They will find common issues, problems, challenges, etc. Also, I found interesting experiences at the transgeneration convention.

It is exciting that we are worried about future problems. Times are changing fast, and the church must be responsive so that we can grow. Time is of the essence to have strong English congregations. Young Korean-Americans are shopping around. They are looking for church homes.

Activities, intellectual challenges and spiritual needs — that is our challenge.

QUESTIONS FROM THE AUDIENCE

To Beth Mitchell: Was the Korean church more willing to accept you as an Anglo clergywoman than they would a Korean clergywoman?

Beth Mitchell: I probably had an easier time than a Korean woman would have had. But, we have not tested that model sufficiently. In my conference, Korean women are serving Anglo churches. There is a struggle we have to face. Could a Korean woman be assigned as a co-pastor in a Korean church?

To all: What do you see five to 10 years from now? Is it viable or practical to go to other independent churches for English-speaking people?

Rev. Kim: I am reluctant to see the church living separately until 30 to 40 years from now.

Rev. Mitchell: I see it as a church within a church, keeping families together. You are creating a model that permits a family to go to church together and to have their needs met at the same place. We, as the church, have a special mission to keep the family together and to face multicultural and language issues under the umbrella of one congregation.

Paul Choi: [Made a diagram of English Language Ministry model.] It reflects a structure which is parallel to the Korean congregation, semi-independent.

Paul Murayama: The Asian churches are changing in L.A. One Chinese church speaks only English and it is flourishing. There may be a need for English-speaking Korean congregations or English-speaking Asian congregations.

Comment by Sam: We need to understand why second-generation clergy are not staying within first-generation congregations. In the Los Angeles area, we have more than six independent second-generation ministries outside the Korean church context. Will we ever be able to have first and second generations as co-pastors? Some first-generation people feel threatened because they see people in the English congregation who are not related to the Korean language congregation. Many young professionals are joining churches where they do not have parents.

To Rev. Kim and Rev. Mitchell: What percentage of your time do you spend on counseling the second generation? What issues do they raise with you?

Rev. Kim: About half of my time is spent encountering parents. Younger kids are reluctant to approach me.

Rev. Mitchell: I do not spend as much as half of my time counseling them, but it has increased dramatically as trust has grown. I am doing a lot of crisis intervention with suicides, runaways, on shoplifting, on Korean gangs, and typical problems of growing-up. I am also receiving phone calls from college students who are struggling with career decisions and dating concerns.

To all: What kind of efforts or specific programs are you doing to promote togetherness in the church setting?

Paul Choi: We are having six bilingual worship services this year.

Rev. Mitchell: I have struggled to get the first generation to do things bilingually. But lately the confirmation service has been led by the second generation. I also moved us back to the main sanctuary and at a time preceding the first-generation service. This allows parents to see what is going on and to participate in the English worship. There is a growing number of Korean-speaking adults who attend the English worship and Saturday night programs.

Rev. Kim: It is important to do joint programs including services and family nights. They help bring people together. I try to include in every program, sermon, etc., a way to let people know what our community looks like. Sometimes we feel there is a gap between us, but we really are together.

I try to put myself in the shoes of others. When we say "inclusive," we think we are supposed to progress forward without ever reaching back and taking them along with us. It is possible for us to be more inclusive.

To anyone: We are missing the foundation. This discussion is about governance. What are the theological bases? What are the emotional, psychological, cognitive needs of transgenerational ministry?

Paul Murayama: We had a two-day retreat last month. We circulated a questionnaire for ideas of our mission goals. We are compiling the information now.

Response from questioner: I was talking more in terms of the Korean community and churches as a whole and some sort of statement about what it is that we need to do. A sort of mission statement, but it has to have a theological basis.

To Paul Choi: Beyond being Korean and speaking English, what is it that draws your group together? What are the ministries of the church, beyond worship, in terms of priority? What meets the needs of the people? Is it program, spiritual growth, or fellowship?

Paul Choi: Newcomers are impressed by the structure and independent work in committees, that young Korean-Americans run the whole church. Our location is key. So many people leave home after school to find a job in Manhattan. They like being with other Korean-Americans with the same background, history, etc. Program is the second reason and that it is being done by young Korean-Americans.

To all: What is the most desirable direction for the second generation? Is the Korean church the answer? A large number of second-generation people leave the church when they graduate from high school. Should we leave them alone or think about where there is a place for them?

Rev. Mitchell: Because I was not a Korean, I had to embrace what was eminently important to me as a Caucasian Christian. I could only offer Christ. For example, my church had a reputation for being very social. So, I took out of my program social things like dances and volleyball tournaments. Now people find social networking and connections in the context of the church.

The question that you raise is the same for the Anglo community or for the Black or Hispanic communities. You have to be a faithful community of believers wherever you are, regardless of what language you are speaking. You train disciples and root them and give them wings regardless of who they are. And you always have the crowd. I take great consolation in the fact that Jesus always had the crowd. It was not any different for him. There were always these fringe people and these lost people. And he concentrated on those who said, "Yes." He nurtured them and developed their faith, and a few of the fringe in some of the crowd overcame. But you have to be a solid viable congregation so that when the lost sheep come in, they find life in Christ, the gate of heaven or the bread of life, the water from which they will never thirst.

PANEL II: SUMMARY

SHARING VISIONS FOR THE FUTURE FOR THE KOREAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

Moderator: Rev. Daniel Shin

Rev. Charles Ryu - [United Methodist] Campus Ministry, Yale University (New Haven, Connecticut)

The issue of second-generation ministry surfaced in the United Methodist denomination in 1982. The General Board of Global Ministries, National Division had a consultation on the future of Korean-American churches. Many of the first-generation pastors felt they needed to be working with the second generation but found themselves inadequately prepared. A main concern was the language barrier.

Out of the consultation came a strategy to reach out to second-generation people that was to utilize 1.5, bilingual, bicultural people. And there the term "transgeneration" (TG) was coined. When the Association of Korean United Methodist Churches had its general meeting in 1982, they spent the whole meeting focusing on the issue of transgeneration. In many ways that is where TG ministry was born.

They looked for ways to find leaders and started an internship program. Local churches train interns and expose them to total ministry — not just youth ministry, but the total ministry. I think that is the beauty of the United Methodist effort.

The new TG Ministry of Korean-American United Methodists, a gathering of seminarians, lay people, and ordained ministers, became the focal point to raise the issues of the second generation. There is also attention to the empowerment of lay people, particularly in four English-speaking congregations.

The TG ministry has done some publications and several doctoral ministry dissertations on TG ministry including an important one on how to do summer internships.

There are other ministries addressing the needs of the second generation including numerous camps and retreats. The Board of Discipleship is trying to bring all the camping ministry leaders to one place to share information and grow together.

The National Committee on Korean-American Ministries recommends policies for the entire denomination on Korean-American ministries. Their latest suggestions include enlistment and leadership development from TG and second generation and also undergirds the importance of female leadership.

Another concern, in general, is the theological distance between first-generation pastors and the younger, bilingual, bicultural pastors and seminarians. That has been a very painful experience for the past 10 years. It is getting better. But intentional theological dialogue is sorely needed.

Peter Kim - [Presbyterian Church USA] Torrence Korean Presbyterian Church (Torrence, California)

The governing body of the Presbyterian Church, USA is the General Assembly. Then there are 14 regional governing bodies called synods, geographical governing bodies called presbyteries, and governing bodies of local churches called sessions.

The National Korean Presbyterian Churches is an ethnic caucus group. In the General Assembly, we have about 10 Korean-American staff people. Six of them are involved in researching and gathering ministers and elders from the whole church to develop a vision and practical materials for second-generation ministry. We are at the finishing stages of coming out with a set of curricula for training teachers and directors of Christian education in local churches.

We are also creating a group called the Coalition on Second Generation Ministries (SCGM) with people that are working with the younger generation. Its purposes are fellowship and continuing education.

Then at the synod level, we have caucus groups that are connected to the NKPC. Also, we are very heavily involved with the Asian Presbyterian Churches at the synod level. There are nine different Asian groups that come together. Through this involvement comes programming for the second generation.

We have what we call a Han-Mi Presbytery — it is a language presbytery. In our denomination we have

two language presbyteries, the Dakota Presbytery for the Dakota Indians and the Han-Mi Presbytery for Korean-Americans. Even though our presbytery is about eight years old, we concentrate about 90 percent of our efforts on survival of local congregations.

We continue to struggle with redefinitions of words like "church," "Korean-American-ness," and "community." All of these words are being seriously reconsidered in terms of what they mean to us.

Then at a more practical level, we have more community involvement like weekday ministries and afternoon school programs for children. I hope we expand our family-focused ministries. Another hope that we have is to strengthen ties between generations among the ministers.

I wish we could do more value assessment of authority in the Korean traditional value system. We know about the beauties of that authority on the whole value system. I am not saying just blindly take everything. But, too quickly, we abandon what we are all about, even the beautiful strong values. That authoritarian approach can be looked at in a negative way, but our parents give us the love in a very authoritative way too. Very insistently, they give us the love. That is the part of the package of that authoritarianism.

Rev. Paul Park - [Baptist] First Korean Baptist Church (Silver Spring, Maryland)

As a Baptist, I need to let you know what our distinctions are. We believe that a "confessional faith" is the key for a person. So unless a person can confess a faith and a life of trust in Christ, baptism is inappropriate. Another thing is the autonomous local church. There is no bishop, no national leader, no national body telling a local congregation what to do. There is no supervision by a national body. Along with that is the democratic process that we have. In a Baptist church, a lay person is just as important and that person's vote counts just as much as the senior pastor's. Competency of the soul is another thing. No convention, no creed will tell you what you ought to believe.

There are approximately 750 churches that are Korean congregations in the Baptist convention. The numbers tell us that in our denomination, the ethnic churches are experiencing explosive growth while the number of Anglo churches is in decline.

In 1987, we had our very first consultation on second-generation ministry. It was basically for fellowship, networking and sharing ideas.

I would like to share with you some examples of Korean-American ministries in our denomination. Grace Baptist Church of Chicago, Illinois, is a ministry started by an American pastor who has no ties to Korean culture except through that ministry. Eighty-five percent of the congregants are Korean-Americans. The rest are Anglos and other Asian-Americans. The pastor struggles for finances. He has attracted mostly youth, teenagers and college students who are feeling neglected in their home churches.

At Berkland Baptist Church in Berkeley, California, a ministry began seven or eight years ago by having English worship services. Now they have started the Korean congregation.

Randel Street Baptist Church in Los Angeles, California, started in 1959 with a ministry basically with all Asian-Americans: Japanese, Chinese, Koreans and a few foreign students. Their main worship service on Sunday morning was in English, even back in 1959. But as the Korean community experienced an explosive growth in Los Angeles, the church became more Korean speaking.

Covenant Chapel, where I am a pastor here in Silver Spring, Maryland, is an autonomous ministry supported by our sponsoring mother church which is First Korean Baptist Church. We set our own ministerial philosophy, our agenda, our planning, and our budget, though we are still partially supported by our sponsoring church. So we are in an ideal situation where we do not have to worry about finances.

The pastor of Grace Baptist has worked with us and put together a paper, "The Transformation Process," which covers the first-generation church transforming into a bilingual/second-generation church. There are several stages that it covers.

The first stage is your typical Korean church. Everything is in Korean, so there is no language problem. The only problem is enlisting adults to work with children for Sunday School because they are rather new, and, in immigration, parents tend to be busy. Now the kids start to speak English, and they begin to prefer to be taught in English.

The second stage involves dealing with relatively young volunteers who are English speakers in Sunday School and in the leadership. The crisis at this second stage is acquiring part-time leadership for the youth.

At the next stage, the crisis becomes the language and cultural crisis. Will we choose to become more Korean-American or American culturally and linguistically? The crisis comes in having to decide where to put our focus in our cultural spectrum.

Fourth, the crisis becomes decision making. Now that we have a fair number of English speakers in our church, do we give them decision-making power?

Fifth, there is a power and focus crisis where under the leadership of a good, full-time English-speaking minister, the church may attract many of the marginalized Korean-Americans and outgrow the Korean-speaking congregation. At this stage an English-speaking pastor may become the senior pastor. The struggle here is in deciding whether or not to make the English-speaking pastor the main pastor. As a result, a power shift takes place, and the Korean-American church predominately becomes English speaking with a Korean-speaking department. And at this stage, it will be easier for this particular ministry to attract the marginal Korean-Americans as well as other Asian-Americans and even Anglos. This whole transformation process will take anywhere from 25 to 40 years.

SMALL GROUP DISCUSSION REPORTS

Group 1 Question: What are the different models of relating to Korean language ministry?

In a small group discussion just prior to this meeting, we developed three different transitional models. The first one is an English congregation mostly in an infant stage — that is, a smaller English circle within the larger circle of the Korean congregation. The English congregation would be fully supported by the Korean congregation and would probably have a youth director as the leader of the English congregation.

As the English congregation grows, the model becomes two overlapping circles, the Korean congregation and English congregation existing together. However, the English congregation would be partially dependent on the Korean congregation and most likely would have a minister as an associate pastor. The ultimate goal might be to have the Korean-speaking and English-speaking congregations together, but financially independent.

We talked about problems of an English-speaking congregation with the second and the first generation together such as the relationship between the senior Korean pastor and the second-generation minister and of the attitude of the first generation toward financially supporting and dictating what the English congregation ministry should be.

We need to touch upon one problem about recruiting ministers for the English congregation. A lot of people expressed the need to have the 1.5/second-generation ministers for our second-generation ministry, but few such ministers are available. The reason is perhaps that young ministers come out with their own ideas, but the reality is they have to work within the existing structure. In other words, the position of second-generation ministers is very difficult.

Also, we discussed whether or not we truly do lack ministers for our second generation, because there are also women ministers coming out of seminary who are trying to find work to minister to the second generation but are not having success because of their gender.

Group 2 Question: What are the financial resources for second-generation ministry? What should the pastoral leadership of such a ministry be?

Some big churches in metropolitan areas are probably better off than the smaller churches. We have stated that, currently, we do not see the 1.5/second-generation church being self-supportive or independent because of the minister's salary and the costs of operating a church.

On pastor leadership, currently there is tension between first-generation pastors and 1.5/second-generation pastors. Every time they need to have a dialogue, there seems to be heated debate. The first and 1.5/second generations need to really sit down in a more Christian manner of love and to try to compromise.

Regarding Anglo-American pastors who come into the Korean-American churches, someone stated that it is not the skin color, but it is that the new pastor must have the right heart, attitude and hope that there is that time of adjustment where one can come into a congregation and attempt to understand the values and traditions of the Korean culture. The first generation would have a difficult time accepting an Anglo to the church, but maybe the 1.5/second generation would be better received.

Group 3 Question: Do we really need Korean-American congregations?

We talked about some of the needs for a church. We said there has to be a place for people to have some sort of shared experience.

Statistics reveal that college-age students are leaving the church. We shared a little bit of frustration from not knowing what to do. We discussed why the church exists in the first place. There are transgeneration people and second-generation people who are not Christians. We have people to reach. A lot of the first-generation persons were more concerned with the transmission of Korean culture and heritage. We thought that when the first and second generations come together the transmission of Korean culture will happen.

Another thing about the English-speaking congregation is that it extends itself to others that we have considered left out or neglected, such as adopted children and the interracially married.

Group 4 Question: How do we restore and preserve traditional values? How can we define traditional values?

We said that the traditional values derived from the traditional Confucian ethics. We outlined some aspects of those Confucian ethics such as family loyalty, respecting elders, and respecting teachers. We asked whether or not to preserve positive or negative aspects of traditional values. Finally we tried to do away with such a dualistic thinking, whether it is positive or negative. Rather we said that it is a matter of context and understanding traditional values such as respecting elders or having family loyalty or respecting

teachers.

One question was asked about whether the authoritarianism impedes or accelerates the process of community building in congregations that have both English-speaking and Korean-speaking congregations. One person said that parliamentary procedure and the decision-making process allows a sort of egalitarian approach and breaks down that authoritative and hierarchical structure. However, even within the parliamentary procedure, there is a built-in hierarchical structure. So we asked whether or not this parliamentary procedure is replacing one traditional authoritative hierarchical structure with another one.

In the Christian setting, we automatically respect each other. Even though there is a sense of authority and hierarchy, it is very minimal in the Christian context. We came to the conclusion that the second generation and the minorities within the Korean churches, like women, children and English-speaking people need to rise and speak their concerns so that the first generation can understand the problems.

We finally agreed that it is more important to understand the context of the situation, than the absolute value itself. Authority can be both positive and negative. Authority is not something we take because it is a traditional Korean value, but we take it in context and that has to be explained to the second-generation people. We also came to the conclusion that we need to open dialogue to generate understanding from both.

DIALOGUE

Panel Discussion Between First and Second Generations

DIALOGUE: SUMMARY

DISCUSSION BETWEEN FIRST AND SECOND GENERATIONS

Moderator: Rev. Daniel Shin

Question 1: If you are first generation, what is the one burning thing in your heart that you feel you want to communicate to the second generation? If you are second generation, what is the one burning thing that you want to communicate to the first generation?

Mrs. Chung Soon Ahn (first generation): I am a female, and I am 50. I will speak as a mother. First, to the first generation, do not work too hard for your business. You can work hard later when your kids are older. Spend time with your kids while they are young. Try to learn English so that, at least, you can communicate with your kids.

When you make a decision think carefully and make the decision for your kids' sake, not for your benefit. Also remember that your kids were born here. They are Americans. So do not keep saying, "You are Korean-American, do not do this." That is a real negative attitude.

Do not lose your sense of humor. It helps a lot to raise your children. When you have a mad face or a serious face, they hesitate to talk to you.

Another thing, be a volunteer parent at school. It will help you to know your kids' friends. Try to volunteer in the church, too. There are a lot of ways to serve. And the kids see this as a role model.

To the second generation, I suggest that you be honest with yourself. If you are truly honest with yourself, you cannot use drugs or alcohol or any bad things for your body. Also you cannot cheat on your homework. The second thing is to be diligent. Everyone is smart and talented in some way or another. Third, I suggest that you be cooperative on important issues when you think you are right. Volunteer to help.

Another thing, try to understand your parents. They once were your age, so they can understand you better than you think.

Mr. Joon Ku Rha (first generation): There are always problems and issues to be struggled with between parents and their children, whether they are American or Korean or in-between. Our situation is rather unique because first and second generations have unique problems. So the key word here would be understanding.

Our children are under tremendous pressures — cultural, academic, social, racial and peer pressures — something that we did not have back in Korea because we had an extensive family. We need to be very sensitive to their needs and recognize what they are facing. Try to see things from their viewpoint.

And for the second generation, I think you have got to understand the background of your parents. Because of your parents, you are here. Try to accept your parents as they are. They are persons just like you and me.

I know you are looking for a role model around the house, around the neighborhood, around the church. Maybe you cannot find anyone, and sometimes you may see a double standard. I ask you to see things in perspective and look beyond. You do not have to find a role model from your father and mother. You can find a good role model here in the church of Jesus Christ, Dr. Schweitzer, Gandhi, Martin Luther King. But if you cannot find a role model here, do not let it be an excuse so that you can be a better person.

David Cho (young adult): I am an American-born Korean male. It bothers me that we do not work together. There is a mentality of "parent and child." I understand that comes from our cultural background, but there is a certain point that the parent/child relationship has to be let go of or modified.

One thing I admire about our culture and the concept of the Korean-American church is that we are a family and we work together.

Along with that, we have to be honest and recognize where we live and what we face. Yes, there are more pressures and more stresses now, so it is different for the younger generation. But it is just as difficult for our older generation. One thing that is really prevalent is that we are not accepted as we are in this society. I look at our church and I thank God that I have a church such as this when I can come forward and talk like this.

Note: The panel members were selected from various age groups with different backgrounds among the first and second generations.

Michelle Lee (youth): I am a second-generation female American teenager. I am 16 right now and a senior in the process of applying to colleges. I can tell you that this year I have gotten a lot of pressure from my family. I have really been thinking about my future and exactly what I want to do when I grow up, what field I want to enter and all.

What I want from the first generation is for them to learn more about the Western culture and balance out the certain aspects of the Western and Korean cultures. At the same time, we need to relearn the Korean culture from our parents. It has to be a two-way street where we give and take and they also give and take from us.

In Korea and here, a lot of Korean parents stress academics very much. In Korea, to enter a university you must have high grades. Here in order to get into college we have to have a balance between academics, extracurricular activities and volunteer work. It is really hard to prioritize each of these into certain areas and to really concentrate on each section. We need to have parental support.

There is a lot of peer pressure about drugs, alcohol, premarital sex. There are a lot of issues that we talk more with our friends about than with our parents. We are questioning our own morals too. I think that parents should be more willing to talk with us about certain issues that are not just academics but issues that involve us. At the same time we have to be willing to be more open and know where our right to privacy is and also where we might need our parents' guidance more than our friends'.

In the Korean community, family reputation is a big deal. A lot of times children become the objects of that pressure. We can only do so much. I think parents have to realize the extent of their child's ability to do this much in school and this much outside. Not every child is the same as some other family's child. Their talents are different.

Ilryong Moon (first generation): I am 34 years old. I came here in 1974. I finished high school here and then went to college and law school. I have been practicing law in the Korean-American community here.

I believe Korean fathers — I do not have much problem with mothers — need to show more expression of affection toward their children. As "the king can do no wrong," it seems to me, a lot of Korean fathers believe they can do no wrong. They seldom are apologetic, or admit their weaknesses, or thank their children. By expressing your affection toward your children you can start to have meaningful dialog and communication between fathers and children. You will be able to truly understand what your children need.

And also, to the second generation, I want to say that your fathers — and of course your mothers — always love you.

Woo Young Park (first generation): I will tell you what I experienced on the basis of three children I have, from ages 26 to 21. I realized that communication is really important. I thought parents had to understand the kids first because the children are too young to understand us. Then I realized I could learn some other things about them. My wife and I decided to learn more about American life because their friends are all American.

Having a weekly family meeting was important to us. At the beginning I said, "You are free to say anything you want about your parents and your brother and sister." They really hated to say any bad thing to their father or mother. But later on, slowly, they opened up.

As they got older, I thought it was time for them to put their effort in understanding their parents. It was helpful for them to go to the church. Before that, they really did not know who they were and what we are. When they came to church, they saw the same kind of people, the same ages, speaking in English and then all Korean parents looking like their parents and the way they think is somewhat different. So they started to identify themselves.

Another thing that I think helped was sending them to Korea when they got a little bit older. When they came back they said that they appreciated us a lot more because they saw how different we were from parents in Korea.

I suggest to the second generation to become good human beings before becoming good students or whatever. Be a good person first, warm hearted, considerate, loving, believing in God. I think that is the number one priority. Once you decide to do something, no matter what, I would really like to see you work hard on it. Discipline yourself.

Due to limited time, questions 2 and 3 were answered together:

Question 2: In order for the first and second generations to work together, to do a ministry together in one church community, what are the specific things — one or two things — that need to be corrected?

Question 3: How would you like our church to be 10 years down the line?

David Cho: The first thing is we need — if we are consistent with our theme of inclusiveness — to have everyone at our church involved. That means our youth group — not just ministry to the youth group but youth group involved in decision making — our young adult group, and our women's group. Along with this, all these groups working together, they have to be involved in our church structure in all degrees.

As for my vision, it would be like this symposium, not the substance but all the work that went behind the symposium, working together. It was wonderful to work, not only with people of my own group, but to work with parents, the Korean older generation, mothers and fathers, and our youth group.

Michelle Lee: I see that our church does a lot of programs. They are great because they give an opportunity for the whole congregation to get involved. Events such as the Christmas program and the family retreat are great opportunities for the two generations to combine to worship jointly.

From my perspective, I think that parents could become more involved in youth group activities. Rather than enforcing them to go to church, they can encourage. Be aware of where your child's interests are. Become interested and involved in what your child does in the youth group and the church.

Ten years from now, I am hoping that there will be a lot of strong enactments within all age groups. I hope they can all be present and perhaps there would be more activities where each group can come together and share a bit of how they think and work together making the congregation really strong and actively involved.

Ilryoung Moon: I guess what we need is true equal partnership between the first and second-generation congregations. Not 70/30, not 60/40, but 50/50, equal partnership in terms of participation, rights and responsibilities. Maybe not right now, because we have to face the reality that all of our church leadership belongs to the first generation. Right now there is no room for the second generation at the top leadership level.

For the future, I do not think our church is a leader as some of you may claim it to be. Our church is an elite church. In order for this church to be a true leader of all the Korean-American churches in this area and in the United States, throughout the whole world, we have to reach out.

Dr. Kim: What is needed to coexist, Korean-speaking ministry and English-speaking ministry, is dialog. They have to talk with each other about their needs and try to help each other. I think the first generation, Korean-speaking congregation should help English-speaking people because they are just beginning. Then eventually, what I see in 10 years will be an equal level of Korean- and English-speaking ministry. I can picture co-pastors rather than a pastor with an associate. I would like to see the congregations in the same church with different ministries. But there could be a chance that they could be completely separate and have their own English-speaking ministry.

What is really needed is this communication. To me I think we have to start at the top level, including pastors. They have to learn how to work together and then leaders have to communicate and learn who to work with.

Mrs. Chung Soon Ahn: Two little things. They can have services here instead of there. The first generation should let them have the sanctuary from 9:45 to 10:45 or whatever even if they do not have many people. It helps the atmosphere. We could also make one or two days a year like English service day. They will do the service, they will do the offering, everything. You can do it bilingually or whatever.

What I would like to ask the second generation for their future is to aim high. Do your best at what ever you do, male or female. Make your own timeline. You can modify it. That is your choice. There is no formula for anything. Parents should remember that to.

Mr. Joon Ku Rha: The key to working together is to do things together: retreat, activities, communion. Definitely we need to pay more attention and support to give strength to our Sunday schools and English services.

Obviously we have some void here between the first and second generations. It is expected. We need to work together to overcome this. Sometimes the things we do for them are not necessarily what are best for them. The church can play a very important role to fill that void. I think we need to build a church that provides the kind of service that gives them the solid spiritual foundation so they can find their own after high school. We can build a church that they can call home.

COMMENTS AND QUESTIONS FROM THE AUDIENCE

Comment: We live in the environment of American society. We tend to withdraw. We should make our base here in church. Then we should make a greater impact on our outside life.

Matthew: I think it could be seen as our roots and wings as a Korean-American identity and also our roots and wings as Christians in this society. I think it is up to us to see how we are going to relate to both.

Grace: I would like to know what you see in the future of the second generation. I am scared for our generation because few second-generation Korean-Americans know the Korean language. I am proud of being a Korean. I wonder what the first generation sees in our future? It is going to be so different from your future.

Mr. Rha: I think everybody should be proud of his or her own identity because we are all the children of God. What is going to happen? I do not have an answer. I think we should get together, discuss it, and research it and rely on experts like the panelists and lecturers of this symposium and leaders of the church, pastors, and then in doing so we should be diligent about training those second and third generation ministers and pastors.

When you go to college, think about majoring in not just engineering or medicine but something that is more basic. You should choose courses which fit your own personality, own character, what you like to do. And if you do not see a role model, maybe you should be one for others.

William Yu: The one mistake that the first generation makes in thinking about the future of the sec-

ond generation is believing they live a better life because they have a better education and so forth. In order to be a full person, you not only need education, you need a social network. The first generation is very comfortable because you have your church and you have a lot of friends so that you can help each other. They are a very important life support system. I do not know if our children have lifetime friends. A friends' network is based on common belief, common feeling, feeling of togetherness, feeling of sharing.

Her question is, I think, a very critical question. We need to provide them with what they want, what they need because their needs are unique. They are growing up in a very different situation.

Also, we talk about this Korean culture, American culture and Korean-ness, American-ness, Korean identity, American identity, and all these different values. We, as a community of the people, are the church people. We are here together because we believe in Jesus Christ. That has to be the base. We have to find what the common values are among the Christian values, American values, and Korean values. We talked about the family. The Bible says respect your parents, love your children. Our forefathers told us that, too. We talk about individuality, not selfishness, respect your own traditions, your own being. That is very common in Korean culture, American culture and Christian culture. Love thy neighbor, meaning your parents, your wife, your husband, your children, and then outside, all the people you meet in this world. So that is what we need to build among our children. Those people who share those beliefs should become the social niche, the basis of the friendship, and that can be the lifelong friendship.

So I think we should be proud of our tradition. So we have to teach them. That is the only way we can survive, and the future of America depends upon that restoration of those values. There are a lot of things that we can do to make this community to promote this sense of sharing, sense of pride, sense of belonging together.

Response from a member of the first generation: You have mentioned here "the future," and I would like to address that. What is special about being a Christian is we have hope. We have Jesus Christ. So, I would like to offer you our aspirations, the parents' love and hope. And, by all means, do not let us hold you back. We are here when you need comfort, when you need fellowship. Come back and talk to us, but do not be afraid to try.

Questions from a second-generation teenager: There is still the question of interracial marriages and what is going to happen in 10 years. It is not a given that we are all going to marry Korean people because God chose who we are going to marry. I mean, this is going to be kind of common, you know. Do you think that this church is going to stay Korean?

Response from a member of the first generation: Actually, at this time, about one-third of the emerging generation within Korean-American communities are of mixed blood, mixed ethnicity. That is a trend that will continue to increase as more and more inter-ethnic, cross-cultural marriages happen. So what happens to the identity of our children is a big question before us.

Comment from a member of the first generation: Today there were discussions about partnership and co-pastorship and teen ministry 10 years later. Why not now? I would like to actually propose that we have teen ministry, equal co-pastorship and on an equal basis of English ministry and Korean ministry, now.

Comment: Concerning the question that the young lady asked of the future of the second generation, theologically speaking, what really matters is not whether or not a Korean church will last or a future generation church will exist. Ultimately, what really matters is whether or not God's will will be done in this world. If all the Korean young people intermarry and that is the way God's will is going to be done, fine. I think that the ultimate purpose of this universe — I do not think it is the existence of the Korean church — is that God's justice, God's love and God's peace should prevail in this world.

Secondly, as Dr. Yang said, the first generation has the social network already and therefore, the first generation can run to the Korean immigrant church. I really think that the second-generation people are going to have to work among themselves and build a community on their own and I would suggest that you should not rely on the first generation to do that for you.

I think that sometimes the Korean-American church is too insulated. I think we worry too much about ourselves. I hope we spend more time talking about certain social issues that are outside of these church walls. What should the church do about AIDS? What should the church do with the peace?

But first we have to know who we are. Then after that, I think that the church is truly a church when it is concerned about people and things outside of the church. I am especially concerned about Korean immigrants and Korean-Americans who are not coming to church, Koreans who still need to be reached. Somehow we need to be concerned about issues outside the church.

APPENDIX

Comments by Participants of Proceedings

Acknowledgments, by Kibong Kim

Participants List

ROOTS & WINGS: A HISTORICAL EVENT TAKES PLACE IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

A GLIMPSE OF OUR ROOTS AND WINGS

I perceive history as the recollection and oral/written statements of the past events. In the context of Korean-Americans, I was part of an event that may be significant in the recounting of Korean-American history. But more importantly, this special gathering may have meaning for the Asian-American community in general. From an individual's perspective, I felt that this symposium represented hope for our future in America.

People from across the nation, various denominations, different ages, and numerous ethnic backgrounds attended this symposium for four days and four nights (Thursday to Sunday). The programs were lengthy, provocative and insightful, but yet only touched upon a myriad of interconnected issues. The speakers presented very important information concerning what Korean-Americans face in their lives in the United States. For instance, the sociological session touched upon the racial and gender obstacles that we face from not only our surrounding environment, but from ourselves as well.

Perhaps my most memorable moment of the symposium concerned the electric-like atmosphere generated from the first session. The audience was buzzing with questions on the idea presented by the speakers. People were alive with a spirit of curiosity tempered with a conviction to take concrete and effective action in ministry to Korean-Americans. I was amazed as people from different ages, genders, cultural backgrounds and denominations shared a common desire to seek ways of ministering to our present and future generations. The idea of the different generations working together in ministry deeply inspired me.

Despite the positive aspects of the symposium, the entire program represented only a glimpse of what we face and will encounter in our lives. I share these reflections to provide a snap shot of my memories and feelings of this occasion. Although the symposium could not address any of the issues in depth, it at least illustrated the importance and the need for critical and methodical analysis of our roles in society. These few days showed me the necessity and difficulty of truly being sincere to the silent cries of pain associated with growing up in a multi-ethnic and multicultural America.

This symposium is a small step to continue doing effective ministry by looking back and by daring to embrace the future. Hopefully, with the grace of God, we can overcome our shortcomings and not be "rooted" down but be blessed with "wings" to soar ahead.

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A RELFLECTION ON THE SYMPOSIUM HELD IN WASHINGTON: ROOTS & WINGS*

From November 7 to 10, 1991, the Korean United Methodist Church of Greater Washington in McLean, Virginia, held what may be deemed as a history-making symposium on the future ministry for the Korean-American community. From the beginning to the end of the symposium, the level of organization, support for and participation in this ecumenically-based symposium was nothing short of excellent. For the first time in Korean-American church history, to my understanding, this kind of gathering was made possible in order to accomplish one thing: To analyze, understand and project for the future ministry of English-speaking Korean-Americans in the United States.

To begin with, the most impressive aspect of the symposium was the multi-dimensional approach to the question of second generation ministry. There were five sets of presentations, each group having two presenters and at least three respondent panelists who essentially attempted to critique the presentations. There were two sociologists, two education and psychology experts, and two well-known theologians. Moreover, three models of ministry for the second generation Korean-Americans were presented based on the existing models, i.e. United Methodists, Baptist and Presbyterian. Finally, an attempt was made to explain the biblical/theological basis for having English ministries for Korean-Americans.

My participation in this symposium called "Roots and Wings" was to critique the sociological perspective. In response to the presentation, I made a point that the so-called English Language Ministries were focused on the needs of middle-class Korean-Americans. The sociological perspective was based on statistics that were reflective of the middle-class Korean-Americans. Because the studies were biased in terms of class, I felt that an accurate projection of all Korean-Americans could not be possible. Nonetheless, it presented a number of issues that deal with the cultural dichotomy one feels living in the United States, especially the transgeneration Korean-Americans.

At this point, I feel it is important to reiterate and emphasize the preparation aspect of this symposium. Because there were a large number of participants in the symposium, providing food and housing for the guests must have been an enormous task for a single church to handle. All the guests stayed at a hotel, and each meal was prepared with care. From opening service to the closing service, every aspect of the symposium was documented either in written form or by video camera. My essential point is that there was tremendous assistance and support from the main congregation (first generation folks) who not only provided financially but also volunteered to help out at every level. What all of these people ultimately showed was the fact that the first generation people were concerned about the second generation; perhaps, even more importantly, the relationship between the two generations reflected friendship, mutual respect, sense of responsibility, and Christian love.

Based on my limited interpretation of the symposium, I cannot help but notice the reality of the ways in which our church is situated. In many ways, our church, Korean Church and Institute, is quite similar to the Washington church. They, too, have an English-speaking ministry, which does not have as many members as our church, but its interaction with the Korean-speaking congregation seems to be exemplary. Although the English Language Ministry is different in many respects, I believe we can do a lot more to improve the relationship with the main congregation. It is essential, no matter what the goal of English Language Ministry may be, to gain support from the main congregation and to return the favor in a meaningful way. The point that I addressed should, hopefully, raise a number of questions about our own ministry in the context of our church, and, even more broadly, in the context of second generation Korean-American ministries. Let's come up with the mission statement!!

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ROOTS & WINGS: A SYMPOSIUM ON THE FUTURE MINISTRY FOR THE SECOND GENERATION KOREAN AMERICANS*

The KUMC of the Greater Washington Area hosted a memorable event from November 7 through 10. It was a symposium on the future ministry for the second generation on its 40th anniversary. Close to 90 people, representing churches nationwide, attended the symposium.

Theologians, psychologists and seminarians were invited as speakers and panel respondents. Attending from our church were Rev. Samuel Lee, Tammy Chung, Ray Lee, and Paul Murayama.

The event was well organized and featured a very demanding schedule of symposiums, panels and lectures. Also there were daily worship services and devotions. A total of six papers were presented by speakers. Two papers, each concerning the sociological perspective, psychological/educational perspective, and theological perspective on the future of the Korean-American churches, were presented. A panel of two people responded to each paper. Our Rev. Lee presented a paper: *Korean-American Identity: Orthogonal Model.* Tammy and I were respondents in other sessions.

The interaction with the audience during the question and answer periods were very provocative and probing. The issue of gender inclusiveness was particularly memorable. What followed was a very special moment. Tammy Chung made an emotion-packed statement on this issue which is very close to her heart. She feels that it is an issue of great importance today and that we must recognize the contributions of women in our churches and homes and the workplace. People reacted with tears and a strong ovation.

An historical event took place on the final afternoon. Dialogue for the Future featured a panel that included six local church members ranging from youth to adult. It was a dialogue on how we can improve relations between the generations and what our visions for our future are.

This was the first time this local church expressed their deepest concerns for their English-speaking congregation. There were expressions of deep frustrations and great sensitivity in describing the present conditions of their church.

We could relate to most of the comments expressed. It is our hope to host an event such as this in the future to have a dialogue and to hear the feelings of the church members regarding the English Ministry. My compliments to Rev. Young Jin Cho and Rev. Daniel Shin for their successful symposium.

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The intent in preparing the proceedings was to involve as many *Koinonia* (the English language) congregation members as possible. Many members transcribed and edited recorded audiotapes of discussion sessions, sometimes more than once. Efforts by (in no particular order) Mrs. Soon Hoon Ahn, Mr. David Cho, Mr. Byung Hyup Ahn, Ms. Vivian Chi, Mr. Young Whan Park, Ms. Betty Kim, Mr. Matt Park, Mrs. Anna Rhee, Mr. Suk Hong Choi, Ms. Sonia Kim, Ms. Mina Kim, Mr. Ted Ahn, Mr. Gary Won, Ms. Christine Chung, Mr. Philip Roh, Mr. Ken Kitahara, Mr. Kevin Dillon, Mr. Jim Suh, Mr. Jae Kim and Mr. Steve Ahn are very much appreciated. I have a nagging feeling that I am missing a person or two here, and I apologize to them. After all, it has been a long time since the symposium (even though the publication's delay is my fault).

Thanks are due to Mr. Hak Soo Chung who provided several sets of tapes for the ease of transcription. Rev. Rachel Ye, Mr. Byung Nam Kim, Dr. Yoon Soo Park, Mr. Jae Won Yoon, Ms. Woon Hee Kim, and Mr. Ilryong Moon all paid special attention in helping me out with the preparation. I especially thank Christie Goodman for the expert editing and layout of the entire manuscript in an attractive format.

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